

7: Babbington 1751:40

A COMPLETE
HISTORY
Of the Wars in
SCOTLAND;

Under the Conduct of the Illustrious
JAMES Marquis of *MONTROSE*,
IN TWO PARTS.

The 1st Part describing the Wars in the Years
1644, 45, 46.

The 2d Part containing an Account of *Montrose's* Negotiations Abroad, and the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, from the Year 1647, to the Year 1650 Inclusive. This 2d Part being never before published, is now first done into *English*, from the *Latin* of the Right Reverend Father in GOD, Doctor *George Wisheart*, Bishop of *Edinburgh*.

With an Appendix,

Containing 1st, A Description of *Montrose's* pompous Funerals in the Year 1661. 2dly, A Character of King *Charles* the 1st, by the famous Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, on his Death-Bed. 3dly, *Montrose's* Declaration when he returned to *Scotland*, Anno 1650. 4thly, The Declaration of the Commission of the Kirk, in Answer to it. 5thly, Two Poems done by *Montrose*.

AS ALSO,

Fifteen Letters to *Montrose*, from King *Charles* the 1st, His Queen, King *Charles* the 2d, and Prince *Rupert*.

Now first published from the Originals, in the Hands of the Publisher.

Printed in the Year, 1720.

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T H E
PUBLISHER
T O T H E
READER;

T HIS *History of the Civil Wars in Scotland*, was first Written in Latin by that venerable Prelate, Dr. George Wisheart, Bishop of Edinburgh, who accompanied Montrose in all his Expeditions, and was an Eye and Ear Witness of what he relates. The first Part of this History was publish'd in Latin that very Year Montrose was ordered by the King, to disband his Army, and go Abroad, viz. In the Year 1646. In the 1647, there was a second Edition of it in Latin, I have not seen any in Latin of a later Date, and am apt to think there has been none since. In the Year 1647, the English Translation was first published: From that Time to the 1660, there were several Editions in 4to and 8vo. Since the 1660, there has not been any new Edition of it in English so far as I know; therefore it is no Wonder that even this 1st Part is become very rare. The History as it was written by the Right Reverend Author, appears in the World with all Advantages imaginable to recommend it to the Perusal and Esteem of the Reader: For it is written in a pure Latin Diction, with an Air of Ingenuity, by a Bishop of eminent Piety, who was Eye and Ear Witness of what he relates, and was a great Confidant of that Heroe whose History he writes, as for the Translation

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of the first Part, it is tolerably well done, excepting a few Places which I have endeavour'd to correct. It seems to have been done by an English Pen, for the Translator is always at a Loss in translating from the Latin into our Language the proper Names of Towns, Shires, &c. if the Latin differ ever so little from the Scottish Name; for Example Limnuchum he translates Limnuch instead of Linlithgow, such Faults as that I have endeavour'd also to correct, tho' I will not pretend to have hit Right in the Names of Places in the Highlands, which are unknown to me.

The 2d Part of this History was never printed before, either in Latin or English, as it contains a distincter and fuller Account of Scottish Affairs, than any hitherto extant, it must needs be acceptable to the Publick. In Translating of it, I have endeavour'd to express the Meaning of the Author, tho' I am sensible the Translation comes very far short of the Beauty of the Original. Since I am a Translator only, I hope no Body will think I am accountable for all the Characters that are given of some Persons and the Professors of certain Principles.

The Appendix contains several curious Papers that serve to illustrate the preceeding History, most of them I had from Mr. R. M. a Gentleman of true Loyal Principles, who has been very industrious, these many Years, in collecting all curious Books and Papers, that may serve to rectify or illustrate the Scottish History.

After the Impression of the History and Appendix was quite finished, I had sent me from an unknown Hand, an inestimable Collection of Original Letters written to Montrose by the Royal Martyr, his Queen, King Charles the 2d and Prince Rupert. I pick'd out as many of them as concern this History, and Three of them that were written by the Queen in French, I have translated into English.

The Author's Preface to the Reader.

THere are a few Things of which I would not have them ignorant who shall chance to peruse this short History ; whereof some concern the Lord Marquis of *Montrose*, whose Actions in his Country for two Years Space are here published ; and others have relation to the Author of this Work. And first of all I desire thee to take Notice, that *Montrose* is the Chief of that antient and famous Family of the *Grahams*, and is called in old Scottish *Graham-more*, the great *Graham*. He derives his Pedegree from that famous *Graham*, in the Histories of *Scotland*, who was Son in Law to *Fergus* the second King of the *Scots* ; and was the first (that with the Assistance of his Father in Law) cast down that Trench which *Severus* had made, and set out for the utmost Limit of the *Roman Empire*, between the *Scottish Frith* and the River of *Cluid*, at such a Place where *Great Britain* was narrowest ; and by that Means cut the Power of the *Romans* shorter. Whence it happens, that some evident Remains of that Trench retain his Name amongst the Inhabitants to this Day, who call it *Gremesdike*. The same *Graham*, from whom this noble Family took it's Rise, surviving his Father in Law *Fergus*, and being a man as able for Civil as Military Employment, was made Protector unto his Nephew, and Regent of the Kingdom ; and after he had fetched back the Doctors of the Christian Faith, who had been banished by the late Wars, and settled as well the Church as State with excellent Laws, freely resigned the Government into the Hands of his Nephew when he came to Age. He flourished in the Time of the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, about the Year of our Lord 400. From whom

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whom hath descended in a fair and straight Line, a long and noble Row of Posterity, who, imitating the Virtue of their Ancestors, have been famous in the succeeding Generations. Amongst whom that valiant *Graham* was eminent, who with the Help of *Dumbar*, so seasonably rescued his Country from the *Danes* who were then Masters of *England*; and had frequently, but with little Success, invaded *Scotland* with mighty Armies. And in after Times that noble *John Graham* came nothing behind his Ancestors in Virtue and Honour, who after the Death of *Alexander* the third, in that Vacation of the Kingdom, while *Bruce* and *Balliol* disputed their Titles, was, with that renowned Vice-Roy *William Wallace*, a stout maintainer of his Country's Liberty against the unjust Oppression and Tyranny of *Edward* King of *England*, and after many Heroical Exploits, fighting valiantly for his Nation, died in the Bed of Honour. His Tomb is yet to be seen in a Chapel which hath the Name of *Falkirk*, from the afore said *Gremesdike* by which it stands. Adjoyning unto which the Marquis of *Montrose* hath large and plentiful Possessions, descended by Inheritance unto him from that first *Graham*.

But lest I should seem to derive the Nobility of so illustrious a Worthies Extraction only out of the Rubbish of dusty and obscure Antiquity; I must not omit, that his Grandfather, the Earl of *Montrose*, was advanced unto Places of the greatest Honour in that Kingdom, and discharged them most happily. For, being Lord Chancellor of *Scotland* at such Time as King *James* the Sixth of blessed Memory came to the Crown of *England*, he was created by him Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, and enjoyed that highest Honour which a Subject is capable of, with the Love and good Affection both of King and People to the Day of his Death. And his Father was a Man of singular Endowments both of Body and Mind, and so known to be, both in foreign Countries and at home: who after he had performed many most honourable Embassages for King *James*, was called to be Lord President of the Session by King *Charles*: And being snatched away from his Country and all good Men by an untimely Death, was extremely lamented and missed. And what they may hope of the Grand-child, I leave unto thee to judge by what he hath done already, seeing he is yet
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(now a Year and a half after his Employment in his Country) scarce entred upon the 36 Year of his Age.

One Thing more I must add, three Periods already have been very dangerous and almost fatal to the Kingdom of Scotland; the first by the Oppression of the *Romans*, whose Yoke our Ancestors cast off by the Conduct of that first *Graham* descended of the noble *British* Family of the *Fulgentii*. The second by the *Danes*, the Repulse of whom is owing especially to the Prowess of the second *Graham* aforesaid. And the third by the *English* and *Normans*, whom the third *Graham* twice expelled out of *Scotland*, and gave them many and great Defeats. So that (as it was of old spoken of the *Scipio's* in *Africk*) it seems the Name of *Graham* is something fatal to their Enemies, and lucky to their Country at a dead Lift; and that it was not without the special Providence of God Almighty, that in these worst Times One stood up, who did his best Endeavours to maintain the King's just Rights and Authority, the Peace, Safety, and Liberty of the Subjects, and the Honour and antient Splendor of his House. And this is all I thought good at this Time to premise concerning the Lord Marquis of *Montrose*.

For the Author of the Book, take it briefly thus. He professeth himself to have been but little conversant in these sort of Studies, and expecteth neither Credit nor Commendation for the Strength of his Wit (which he acknowledgeth to be little or none) nor Reward or Profit for his Pains; which two Things are the chiefest Incentives to most to wet their Pen; but that he undertook the Business merely out of a Desire to propagate the Truth to other Nations, and to Posterity. For he saw by late and lamentable Experience, in such a Case as this, that prosperous Villany can find more Advocates than down-cast Truth and Goodness. For when the same Confederates in both Kingdoms had by their own Arts (that is, by lying and Slandering) ruined the Church, to fill their Bags with it's Revenues so sacrilegiously purloyned, and enrich their Posterity with plentiful *Anathemas* and accursed Things, there wanted no Store of men that extolled them for it to the Skies, as Men deserving highly from their Country, from the Church it self, and from all Mankind: and reviled with all Sort of Reproaches and Contumelies the most Religious Servants of

God,

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God, holy Martyrs and Confessors, for withstanding them. And therefore he might well imagine, that these Men, who by the same Devices laboured to render his Majesty himself odious, and so to destroy Him, to enjoy his Honours and Revenues so traiterously and perfidiously purloyned, would easily find Men who should out of the like railing humor belpatter as much as in them lay this most Excellent Man, and all his honourable Atchievements ; and (as it is said of Wasps) poyson with their Tongues or Pens the Juice of most sweet and wholsom Flowers, and leave the less knowing, or less wary, to suck it up : He was therefore pleased to offer this short and faithful Narrative, as a seasonable Antidote against that Evil, to all that loved Truth and plain Dealing ; of which he would needs be so obstinate a Maintainer, that although he saw well enough how much Envy and Hatred it would derive upon himself, he resolved he would neither basely flatter any one, nor lap up that Truth which they would not like to bear, in obscure and doubtful Expressions. For he professes, that as he is a free Man born and bred, so he will never part with his Freedome till with his Life. And although he be ambitious of no other commendable Quality of a good Historian neither of Wit, nor Art, nor Eloquence, yet he seems to challenge in his own Right, the Honour of sincere and exact Truth: For the Defence and Propagation whereof, he hath set at nought all that was dear in this World, having been thrice plundered of all that he had, thrice imprisoned in a nasty and filthy Jayle, and now the third Time lies in Banishment for the Truth's Sake. Yet he is merry and cheerful, that being conscious to himself of no Wrong as towards Men he is counted worthy of the Lord to suffer these Things for Truth's and Righteousness sake. And thou (good Reader) make much of him at least for his Truths Sake ; Excuse him for other Things, and farewell.

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- Letter 2d, from the King, dated York May 7th, 1642. Both these Letters contain Complements to Montrose, for his former good Services, invite him to continue, and promise suitable Rewards.
- Letter 3d is from the King, dated York May 31, 1643. It is written in French, and the English Translation subjoin'd, it refers to the 7th and following Pages of this History.
- Letter 4th is from the King, dated Newcastle May 19th, 1646.
- Letter 5th is from the King, dated Newcastle June 15, 1646.
- Letter 6th is from the King, dated July 16th, 1646.
- These Three last Letters contain the King's Orders to Montrose for disbanding his Army, and shew with what Reluctancy he complied.
- Letter 7th is from the King, dated January 21, 1646-47. Congratulating Montrose's Arrival in the Low Countries.
- Letter 8th is from the Queen, dated Paris March 15th, 1647. It is in French, and translated into English, it refers to the 138, and following Pages of the History.
- Letter 9th is from Prince Rupert, from Aboard the Admiral dated October 11th, 1648.

Letter

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- Letter 10th is from the *Queen*, in *French*, and seems to point at the Differences that were always between *Montrose* and the *Presbyterian* Party, and is dated *Paris* March 10, 1649.
- Letter 11th is from *Prince Rupert*, in Answer to one from *Montrose*, delivered by Major General *Monro*, dated April 1st, 1649.
- Letter 12th is from *King Charles 2d*, In Form of a Commission to *Montrose*; for borrowing Money from the Town of *Hamburgh*, and is dated, *St. Germans* September 15th, 1649.
- Letter 13th is from *King Charles the 2d*, desiring *Montrose* not to be startled with any Reports, as if he were any otherwise inclined to the *Presbyterians*, than when *Montrose* saw him, dated *St. Germans*, September 19th, 1649.
- Letter 14th is from the *King* to the Committee, in Answer to their Address, which is premis'd, and is dated *Edinburgh* August 7th, 1649. Sign'd in Name of the Parliament, by *Loudoun Cancellarius*. The King's Answer is dated *Ferrey*, January 22-12th, 1649-50.
- Letter 15th is from the *King* to *Montrose*, sent with Copies of the Address abovementioned, and the King's Answer to it, instructing *Montrose*, how he is to proceed, during the Dependence of the Treaty.

ERRATA,

Page 135. *Christian V.* read *IV.* Page 136. *Obnoxious*, read *obliged*. Page 188. for *Chap. V.* read *Chap VII.*

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THE
Affairs of the KING
IN
SCOTLAND,

Under the Conduct of the most Honourable
JAMES Marquis of *Montrose*, Earl of
Kincardin, &c. and General Governour
for his MAJESTY in that KINGDOM,
in the Years 1644, 1645, and 1646.



Sometimes *JAMES* Marquis of *Montrose*
sided with the Covenanters in Scotland,
and very forwardly bestowed his unhappi-
ly happy Endeavours in their Behoof.
They pretended to nothing then, less
than the Preservation of Religion, the
Honour and Dignity of the King, the
Laws of the Land, and the Freedom of
that Ancient Realm, so happily, so valiantly defended in
the Time of yore from such powerful Enemies, as the Ro-
mans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, by the Sweat and Blood,
with the Lives and Estates of their Ancestors. And the
Tales they made, they never wanted fitting Instruments
to tell and spread among the People, It was given out,
that there was nothing more in the Aim of the Court of
England, than that, that free People being reduced to a
kind

kind of Province, should be eternally enslaved under the Power of their old Enemies. Yet all this While they engaged themselves by their publick Attestations, and even a solemn Oath, that they would never go to Work by Force and Arms, nor sollicite the King any other way than by Petition, That he would be pleased graciously to accept the Supplications of his humblest Subjects, and to take order that his dearest Countrey should suffer nothing in Matter of Religion or the liberty of the Subject.

But at last in the Year 1639. *Montrose* found out that these fair Tales were coyn'd of Purpose to steal the Hearts of the silly and superstitious Multitude, and to alienate them from the King, as an Enemy to Religion and Liberty. For the Covenanters did not dissemble to him, but spoke out, that *Scotland* had been too long governed by Kings; nor could it ever be well with them as long as one *Stewart* (that's the Sirname of the King's Family in *Scotland*) was alive: and in the Extirpation of them, they were first to strike at the Head; so that *Montrose* easily perceived the King's Majesty and Person was levelled at. Therefore vehemently detesting so horrible a Crime, he resolved to desert the Conspirators Side, to frustrate their Counsels, to impoverish their Store, to weaken their Strength, and with all his Might to preserve His Majesty and his Authority entire and inviolate. But because between Force and Craft, the Covenanters had drawn in almost all the Kingdom to their Side, he saw himself alone too weak to check their Power, and therefore thought not good to open himself too suddenly or rashly. Amongst them he had many friends, Men very considerable, as well in regard of their numerous Retinues and Clients, as of their Wealth and Authority: these he had a mind to draw off from them, and bring them with him to the King; and by this means conceived he should be able to gather no small Power, which would conduce much both to the King's Safety and his own.

Mean time the Covenanters rais'd a strong Army against the King, and in a solemn Convention at *Dunee*, they Determine to Invade *England*: *Montrose* was absent then. Which Resolution of theirs, the Chief of the Covenanters had taken up in their Cabinet-councils more than 6 Weeks before; and to that purpose had been busie in divulgi-

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vulging through all *Great Britain*, their Apologetical Pamphlets, whereby they laboured to set a good Gloss upon the Reasons of their Expedition. This Resolution of theirs, *Montrose* being returned, seeing he could not hinder, would not seem to disapprove: *Montrose* commanded in this Army 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, his Friends (who were most obliged unto him, and had religiously promised their best Endeavours in the King's Service) had the Command of 5000 more. And truly it a great Part of them had not been worse than their Words, they had either brought the whole Army along with them to the King, or at least had broken the neck of the Covenanters Designs. When the Army came to the River of *Tweed* (which is the Border of the two Kingdoms) Dice were cast among the Noblemen and Commanders, and it was *Montrose's* Chance to pass first over the River; which he Cheerfully performed on his Feet, his own Foot Souldiers following him, that he might more easily conceal his own Resolution, and take off all Occasion of Suspicion. For as well his Authority in the Army, as the Integrity of his noble Spirit began to be looked on with a Jealous Eye by the guilty-conscienced Rebels. so that they diligently observed all his Behaviour, Words, and Deeds.

After this, Marching over the River of *Tine* 4 Miles above *Newcastle*, by the Treachery of the *English* Commanders, who had retreated to *York* with a Potent Army of the Kings, the *Scots* possess themselves of that Town. and thereupon Commissioners being appointed on either side to treat of a Peace, a Truce was presently made. In the Time of this Truce, *Montrose* had sent Letters unto the King, professing his Fidelity, and most dutiful and ready Obedience, to his Majesty; nor did the Letters contain any Thing else. These being stoln away in the Night, and copied out by the King's own Bed-Chamber-Men, Men most endeared to the King of all the World, were sent back by them to the Covenanters at *Newcastle*: and it was the Fashion with those very Men to communicate to the Covenanters from Day to Day the King's most secret Counsels, of which they themselves only were either Authors or Partakers. And some of the forward Sort of the Rebels were not ashamed to take *Montrose* bitterly enough with those Letters: and although they durst not make an open Quarrel of it, or call him

publickly to Account, because he was so Powerful and Well-beloved in the Army, yet they loaded him with Backbitings and Slanders among the People. For they had obliged unto themselves most of the Preachers throughout the Kingdom, whose mercenary Tongues they made use of to wind and turn the Minds of the People which Way they would. Nor did they promote their Rebellion more effectually any other Way, nor do yet, than this, to have those doughty Orators, in their popular Preachments to rail bitterly against the King and all his loyal Subjects, as the Enemies of CHRIST (as they love to speak,) being themselves the While the very Shame and Scandal of Christianity.

Montrose returning into *Scotland*, and thinking of nothing but how to preserve his Majesty from that Storm of Rebellion hanging over his Head, at last resolved on this Course. He joins many of the prime Men for Nobility and Power, in a League with himself, in which they vowed to defend the King's Majesty and all his Royal Privileges, and ancient and lawful Prerogatives, with the Hazard of their Lives and Estates, against all His Enemies, as well Home-bred, as foreign, unto the last Breath in their Bodies. And truly it came to that Pass, that there had been an open Division in the Army (which was his Aim) had not some for Fear, Levity, or Cowardise (which are bad Keepers of Counsel) betrayed the whole Business to the Covenanters. Hence arose no small Stirrs and Brauls, but were pacified again in a while. for neither yet durst they offer any open Violence to *Montrose*. But afterwards the Confederates having given a new Oath, made sure the Army at their Devotion; and joining themselves to the Parliament of *England* in a strict Covenant, although they saw themselves secure enough from the subtlest Designs of any privat Man, yet they seriously consult how they should take *Montrose* out of the way, whose Heroick Spirit being fixt on High and Honourable (howsoever difficult) Atchievements they could not endure.

To make their Way therefore unto so villainous an Act, by the Assistance of some Courtiers, whom with Gifts and Promises they had corrupted, they understood that the King had written Letters to *Montrose* and that they were quilted in the Saddle of the Bearer, one *Stewart*, belonging to the Earl

Earl of *Traquair*. The Bearer was scarce entred the Borders of *Scotland*, but they apprehended him, rip his Saddle, and find the Letters. There was nothing at all written in them, which did not become the best of Kings to command, and the best of Subjects to obey. Nevertheless, those most exact Craft-masters in the Arts of Lying and Slandering, set about horrible and tragical Reports by their apt Ministers, that at last all the King's Plots with *Montrose*, for the Overthrow of Religion, and the Ruin of the Kingdom, were found out and discovered. Nor yet neither durst they afford him a publick Trial, but on a sudden, when he suspected nothing, thrust him (with *Naiper* Lord of *Marchiston*, and Sir *Sterling* of *Keer* Knight, two both of his near Kindred, and intimate Familiars) into the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

At Length a Pacification being made between the People of both Kingdoms, (between whom there had been no War, only they laid their Heads together against their most just and gracious King) a Parliament was called at *Edinburgh*, where the King in Person was present. *Montrose* desires most earnestly to be tried before the King and that solemn Assembly; but to no Purpose, for the Covenanters being conscious enough of his Innocency and their own Guilt, applied their special Endeavours to detain the Gentlemen in Prison unheard, until such Time as the King was got out of *Scotland*, and they had concluded all Things with the King in Parliament according to their hearts Desire. And certainly they were much afraid, lest by his Wisdom and Courage, and the Esteem he was in, as well with his Peers of the Nobility as with the People, he should have fetch'd off the greatest Number of either sort to his own Resolution for the Preservation of his Majesty's Power and Authority. At last the King returning into *England*, *Montrose* and his Friends are set at Liberty: And because it was ordered in Parliament that he should not come into Conference with the King, he sat still a while at his own House. This was towards the End of the Year 1641.

CAAP. II.

IN the Year 1642, the Covenanters of both Kingdoms began to unmask themselves, and let us see more plainly what they meant to do. The Rebels in *England* began to vex the King with unjust, unreasonable, unseasonable Petitions and Complaints, bespatter him with malicious Slanders, profane his sacred Name in scurrilous Songs and Ballads, vilifie him in infamous Libels, Pasquils or Pamphlets, raise Tumults, arm great Numbers of the Scum and rascally Sort of the People, and engage them upon the King's Palace; in a Word, threaten all Extremity to him and his: Whom although he might have justly punished himself, yet he chose rather to refer them to a Parliament, that he might the more oblige it unto himself. But it was to no End for so gracious a King to gratifie that and many Things more, to so ungracious, so ungrateful Men, who were the very Authors and Abettors of these Villainies. For he had already granted more and greater Graces to his Subjects, for the Ease of their Grievances (which they pretended,) and the Security of their Persons and Estates, than all his Ancestors the Kings of *England* together, from *William* the Conqueror downward. Therefore at last, that he might withdraw himself and his Family from present Danger, he is forced, sore against his Mind, to depart *London*: He sends the Queen out of the Way into *Holland*, for the Safety of her Life, and betakes himself to *York*. The States of Parliament (as they call themselves) forthwith, and before the King, take up Arms, and divert those very Forces which the King had appointed for *Ireland*, which were then in a Readiness, and whose Officers had been of the Parliament's choosing, hoping by them to overthrow the King himself.

The Rebels in *Scotland*, who knew well enough the King would have Strength sufficient to deal with the *English* Rebels, resolved upon no Terms to be wanting to their Confederates in so apparent Danger as they were. And although our most gracious King had given them Satisfaction (as much

much as ever they could desire) in that Parliament at *Edinburgh* aforesaid, which also they have recorded among their publick Acts ; nevertheless, they provided themselves for a March into *England*.

Now, that they might the better secure their Affairs at Home, they labour Tooth and Nail to draw *Montrose* (of whom almost only they were afraid) again to their Side. They offer him of their own Accord the Office of Lieutenant General in the Army, and whatever else he could desire and they bestow. He seeing a mighty Storm hovering over the King's Head, that he might give him an Account of it, whereby it might be timely prevented, undertakes a Journey into *England*, taking the Lord *Ogilvie* into his Counsel and Company.

At *Newcastle* he receives News, That the Queen being newly returned out of *Holland*, was landed at *Birdlington* in *Yorkshire* : Thither he makes haste, and relates unto the Queen all Things in Order. She having had a rough Passage, and being not well recovered from the Distempers at Sea, told him she would advise further with him about that Business after they came to *York*. Thither being come, the Queen of her own Accord calls for *Montrose*, he opens the whole Story over again, and makes it appear, that there was no less Danger from the *Scots* than from the *English* Covenanters, if they were not timely suppressed. And being asked his Opinion what was best to be done, answered, *To resist Force with Force* ; told her, *The King wanted not Subjects in Scotland, faithful Men and stout ; nor did they want Hearts, or Wealth, or Power to oppose against the Covenanters, if they durst enterprise any Thing against the King : All that they wanted was the King's Commission, without which they durst do nothing, with which any Thing ; and that all the Danger that was, was in Delay : That the Covenanters, when they had once got their Army on Foot would be able to grind any one to Pieces that should offer to stir ; therefore the Beginnings of so great an Evil were to be withstood, and the Cockatrice bruised in the Egg ; that Physick being to late, that comes when the Disease hath overrun the whole Body.*

Wholsome Counsel it was, and seasonable, which doubtless the most prudent Queen had approved of. But while Things were going on in so good a Posture, all Things were quash'd by the coming of Duke *Hamilton* out of *Scotland*,
upon

upon Pretence of kissing the Queen's Hand, and congratulating her happy Return, but in very deed that he might overthrow *Montrose* his Counsels; for he had posted thither with the Knowledge and Consent of the Covenanters. Nor did he himself dissemble, that there was some Danger from the *Scottish* Covenanters, but he laboured to extenuate it; and condemned the Counsel of *Montrose* as rash, unadvised, and unseasonable. *That stout and warlike Nation was not to be reduced with Force and Arms, but with Gentleness and Courtesies: War, especially civil War, should be the last Remedy, and used many Times to be repented of even by the Conquerors. The Fortune of War was uncertain; if the King should get the best, it would be but a sorry Triumph he could enjoy over his own Subjects: But if he had the worst on't, he must expect what his Soul (good Man) abhorred to speak. All Means were to be tried to preserve Peace with that Nation, nor were Things yet come to that Pass, that the King should despair of Amity and Reconciliation with them: He would be ready to take the whole Business upon himself, if the King pleased to commit it to his Pains and Trust, and to authorise him sufficiently thereunto.* *Montrose* replied, *Nothing would come of that but the Delay of Time, until the Traitors having raised an Army, should prevent the King of any Means to deliver himself and his Party from their Tyranny.* The sad Event proved all this to be too true; but in this Debate *Montrose* was fain to suffer himself to be overborn, being not so great a Courtier as the other; nor were those Vertues which the World now admires, discovered then unto the Queen. *Hamilton* returning into *Scotland*, seemed to be as active for the King as was possible.

The Covenanters meanwhile, by their own Authority (contrary to the known Laws of the Kingdom) summoned a Parliament at *Edinburgh*; which all understanding Men that wished well unto the King, foresaw would be of very dangerous Consequence to his Affairs; and therefore abhorred it so much, that they intended not to honour it with their Presence. But *Hamilton* interposing the Name and Authority of the King, invited them by his Letters, that they would not fail to be all there, and that they should not doubt but they would be able to out-vote the Covenanters, if at this Time they were not wanting to the King's Cause. And if it should happen otherwise, he would

be ready with his Friends to protest against the Covenanters, and immediately to leave them. Abundance of the Nobility incited by the Name of the King, and those Hopes, were present at that Parliament, only *Montrose*, and a few of his Adherents staid away. And with *Montrose* too, the Duke had dealt by his Friends, That as he loved and honoured the King, he would join himself unto them. But he (who had Reason to suspect all Motions that came that Way) answered, *That he was ready to grapple with any Difficulty, especially under his Command, who had so great an Honour as to be the King's supreme Commissioner ; only on this Condition, That the Duke should engage his Honour, That if they could not bring up that Parliament to righteous Things, he would endeavour to enforce them by the Dint of the Sword.* He answered he would protest he would not fight. Which Passage considered, *Montrose*, to preserve his Integrity, expecting the Issue, betook himself to his own Home.

In that Parliament the Covenanters out-voted the loyal Party by seventy Voices or thereabouts, trampled upon the Royal Authority, arrogated unto themselves the Power of calling of Parliaments, pressing Souldiers, sending Ambassadors, and other Things hitherto unattempted, without the King's Knowledge or Consent. And to make up the Measure of their Presumption and Treason, ordain that a powerful Army shall be raised against the King, and in the Aid of their Confederates of *England*. To which Purpose they tax the People with new Subsidies and Levies, much heavier than if all the Impositions, which upon never so much Necessity, for two thousand Years Space, by One hundred and nine Kings, have been charged upon them, were put together.

Montrose therefore, who saw the King was like to be ruined by his own Authority, and saw too that he was too weak to oppose himself both against the Strength of the Covenanters, and the King's abused Commission, in a melancholy Moed, as if he took no notice of any Thing. And the Covenanters supposing that he had received some Distaste from the King, by reason of the Afront he received at *York*, and *Hamilton's* overpowering him, they set upon him yet again privately, and by Friends, to see if by Interest or Interest they could draw him to their Side ; offering

ring him Authority and Wealth, even the greatest Honour Civil and Military. Which Offers he did not seem much to slight, that by that Means he might have an easier Way to dive into their Counsels. The Covenanters, that this growing Friendship might be the better cemented and sanctified (God bless us) send unto him that great Apostle of their Covenant, *Alexander Henderson*, who should give him full Satisfaction in all his Scruples. *Montrose* heartily desired to speak with that Fellow, out of whom he doubted not to pump all the Secrets of the Covenanters: And lest a private Meeting with such a Man should give a Scandal to the King's Friends, he took the Lords *Napier* and *Ogilvie*, and Sir *Stirling* of *Keer* to be Witnesses of the Discourse, and on the Bank of the River *Forth*, not far from *Stirling*, they met.

Montrose made as though he had accounted himself very happy, and much honoured in the Visit of so worthy a Man, upon whose Faith, Honesty and Judgment he so much relied, told him, *That to give the ill Opinion of his Enemies leave to breath it self after some late Mistakes, he was content to stay at Home; that he knew nothing of what was done in Parliament; that he was almost at a Loss how to behave himself in that ticklish Condition the Common-Wealth stood; and therefore beseeched him, for old Acquaintance Sake, to let him freely know what they intended.* *Henderson* taking it for granted by these Expressions, that he was wheeling about towards the Covenanters, that he might the more oblige the Marquis unto him, answered him flatly, and without more ado, *That it was resolved to send as strong an Army as they could raise, in Aid of their Brethren of England, against the King's Forces; that the Covenanters of both Kingdoms had unanimously agreed upon this, either to die, or bring the King to their Lure; that nothing could fall out more happily, than that he should renew his Friendship with the Peers of the Nobility, and the rest of the Kingdom; that so doing he would give great Content to all Men, besides the Honour and Profit that would redound to himself; that by his Example others (if others there were) that idolized the empty Shadow of the King's Name, would join themselves unto the Covenanters; and for his own Part he would give most hearty Thanks unto his Lord God, that had vouchsafed to make Use of him as the Minister, and even Mediator of so great a Work; and at last entreated him to* speak

He speak out his Mind, and commit all such Things to his Care and Industry as he should desire from the Parliament, either in Relation to his Honour or Profit; assuring him he would be satisfied to his Heart's Desire.

Montrose having gotten out the Knowledge of those Things which he eagerly sought for, now bethought himself how he should keep *Henderson* and his Party in Suspence a While, that they should not yet get within him. For what Answer could he give them? if he should profess himself to be against their Courses, that would do the King no Good, and might bring a great deal of Danger upon himself: And on the other Side, to put them in greater Hopes of him, by promising those Things he never meant to perform, he scorned, as being a Stain unto his Honour. Therefore he takes this Course; there was present at that Conference with *Henderson*, one *Sir James Rollock*, Chief of a very ancient and flourishing Family; his former Wife had been *Montrose* his Sister, after whose Death he married the Sister of the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Ring-leader of the Covenanters in *Scotland*: Thus being allied unto them both, he seemed to be a very fit Mediator of Friendship between them. *Montrose* asks him, whether those Things which had passed between them, proceeded from the Direction of the Parliament, or out of their own good Wills? He answered, He conceived that *Mr. Henderson* had received Commission from the Parliament to that Purpose; but *Henderson* said no, but he made no Question but the Parliament would make good any Thing that he promised. *Montrose* told them, he could resolve upon nothing, except he had the publick Faith to build upon, especially the Messengers disagreeing between themselves. Whereupon (as the Fashion is on such Occasions) one of them lays the Blame upon the other, when both of them ought rather to have condemned their own Carelessness and Negligence. The Conference being thus ended, *Montrose* having obtained his Ends, and they being no wiser than they came thither, every one went his own Way.

C H A P. III.

Montrose being returned from this Conference, related all Things as they had passed unto some select Friends whom he could safely trust ; and withall entreated them, that (for the greater Confirmation of the Business) they would all go along with him to the King ; that his Majesty receiving a full Account of all Things, might lend his Ear to sound Counsel, and yet (if it was possible) provide a Remedy against so threatening Evils. Most of them were of Opinion, *That the King and his Authority were utterly ruined and irrecoverable ; that it was a Thing passing the Power of Man to reduce that Kingdom to Obedience ; that for their Parts they had acquitted themselves before God, and the World, and their own Consciences, that hitherto with the Disgrace of their Persons, the Loss of their Estates, and Hazard of their Lives they had continued in their Allegiance ; hereafter they would be only Lookers on, and Petitioners unto Almighty God for better Times.* Montrose, who could by no Means be removed from so honest a Resolution, communicating his Counsel to the Lord Ogilvie, (whom of all Men he especially loved) goes straight to Oxford. The King was absent thence, being gone to the Siege of Gloucester. He imparts unto the Queen what Designs the Scottish Covenanters had against His Majesty ; but he had as good have said nothing, for she had determined not to believe a Word, by Reason of the far greater Confidence she reposed in Hamilton and his Brother.

Montrose seeing no Good was to be done with the Queen, goes to Gloucester, and declares all Things to the King himself : How there was a powerful Army to be raised in Scotland, and a Day appointed on which it should be brought into England ; how their Counsels were manifestly known unto him ; and how to fetch him over to their Side, they had offered him very honourable Commands in the Army ; but that he heartily detesting so horrid an Employment, had fled to his Majesty ; that he having Notice thereof, if he were not able to provide so timely

and

and powerful a Remedy as could be wished, at least might cast some Blocks and Rubs in their Way until such Time as he had settled his Affairs in England ; that the Traitors of either Kingdom might be easily dealt withall by themselves, but if they came once to join their Forces, they would be hardly suppress ; that there were very many in Scotland who would sacrifice themselves, and all that they had for their dearest King, whose good Will would be of no Use unto his Majesty, after the Covenanters had raised their Army, but destructive unto themselves, that the haughty Spirits of the Traitors were to be snap't in Time, and their Strength broken before it grow too big, lest the Beginnings being neglected, Repentance should prove the only Opposition that could be made afterward. These Things, and to this Effect did Montrose continually press unto the King, but in vain, for he had not only the strong and deeply rooted Confidence his Majesty had of the *Hamiltons* to struggle with, but the Devices of a Set of desperate Courtiers beside, who daily buzzed in the King's ears *Montrose's* Youth, his Rashness, his Ambition, the Envy and hatred he bare unto the *Hamiltons*, and what not ; and on the other Side, the *Hamiltons* Fidelity, their Honesty, their Discretion, their Power. Thus *Montrose* nothing prevails, and the King returns to his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*. And although his Majesty saw very well (Reports coming thick and threefold of the *Scottish* Army) that all was true that *Montrose* had told him, yet the most religious King determined upon no Terms to give any Occasion of Quarrel to the *Scots*, till first they entred *England* ; resolving that he for his Part would perfectly observe the Articles of Pacification he had made with them, which if they should violate, he doubted not but they should highly answer it both to GOD and him. While these Things were discoursed at *Oxford*, the Covenanters in *Scotland* bring their Business about according to their Desires, no one opposing them. They raise as big an Army as they can, which consisted of eighteen thousand Foot, & two thousand Horse ; and at last, when they had marched unto the very Borders, the *Hamiltons* were not ashamed to give the King Notice by Letters of the Approach of that formidable Army ; making this their Excuse, That according to their Engagement they had prevented an Invasion the Summer before, but now that Winter was come on, they were able to keep them out no longer, but they would
come

come in immediately with a powerful Army. The King when he saw himself thus grossly abused, sends for *Montrose* shews him the *Hamiltons* Letters, and at last (when it was even too late) asked his Advice what was best to be done.

Montrose tells him, that his Majesty might now see that what he had before given him notice of, had neither proceeded from Ambition, nor Malice, nor any self Ends, but from his bounden Duty and Allegiance ; that for above a twelve Month he had been continually pressing both their Majesties to prevent this ; that he accounted himself very unhappy, that, all that while, so faithful a Servant could not be credited by so good a Master ; that the Case seemed now desperate, but if the King had a mind, he might trust them again, who by pretence of his Authority, had bound some of his Friends Hands that they could not assist him, and drawn in others, who intended nothing less, under colour of Loyalty, than to fight against him, and given up unto the Rebels, now that they had got an Army, all that they had without striking a stroke. The King complaining that he was most abominably betrayed by them with whom he had entrusted his Crown, his Honour, his Secrets, his Life, earnestly demanded his Advice. He repeating again the Lamentableness of the Condition in which Things now stood, nevertheless offered, that if his Majesty so thought good, he would either lose his Life, which if he did, he would be sure it would seem rather sold than lost, or else (which he almost despaired) he would reduce his Country-men, and bring the Rebels there into Subjection. The King being no little pleased with the Confidence, Undauntedness, and Gallantry of the Man, that he might more advisedly contrive his Design, desired him to take two or three Days to consider of it, and so dismiss him.

Montrose returning at the time appointed, shews his Majesty how desperate an Adventure he was undertaking ; that all *Scotland* was under the Covenanters Command, that they had garisoned all Places of Strength, that they were plentifully provided both of Men, and Money, and Arms, and Ammunition, Victual, and all things necessary for a War ; that the *English* Rebels were joined with them in a most strict Covenant, to defend one another against all the World ; But for his own part he had nothing to set up with, neither

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Men nor Arms, nor Pay, yet he would not distrust God's Assistance in a righteous Cause, and if the King would lay his Commands upon him he would undertake to do his best. The King should be in no worse Case than he was, he himself would take what Malice, Envy, or Danger should fall upon himself, so that his Majesty were Graciously pleased to condescend to a few reasonable Requests. And, 1st, That the Business might go on more successfully, it seemed to him very necessary that the King should send some Soldiers out of *Ireland* into the west of *Scotland*. Next that he should give order to the Marquis of *Newcastle* (who was the General of the King's Forces towards *Scotland*) that he should assist *Montrose* with a Party of Horse to enter the South of *Scotland*, by which means he might convey himself into the heart of the Kingdom. Then, that he should deal with the King of *Denmark* for some Troops of German Horse. And lastly, That his Majesty should take some Course to procure and transport some Arms out of some forraign Country into *Scotland*; that nothing more was needed but human Industry, the Success was God's Part, and to be referred to his providence: The King commending his Counsel, and giving him thanks that he apprehended some Life in the Business, encourageth him to fit himself Cheerfully for so great a Work, and wished him to leave the Care of those Things he had requested unto him.

And truly for the matter of Aid out of *Ireland*, the King sends for the Earl of *Antrim*, and acquaints him with *Montrose's* Design. This *Antrim* is of the *Scottish* Extraction, descended of the Noble and Ancient Family of the *M'donalds*, a Man of great Estate and Power in *Ireland*, and allyed to prime Nobility of *England*, by matching with the Dutchess of *Buckingham*. He being driven out of his own Country, lived at *Oxford*, and cheerfully undertook the Negotiation with the *Irish* upon himself, and engaged himself also voluntarily unto *Montrose*, that he would be in *Argyle* (a Part of *Scotland* bordering upon *Ireland*) with Ten Thousand Men by the first of *April* 1644; this passed in *December* 1643, And as for forraign Aids and Arms, the King sent Sir *John Cokeram* his Embassador about it with his Commission and Instructions. And Directions to the Marquis of *Newcastle* were carried by some of *Montrose's* own Company. Who receiving the King's Letters and Commission to be Governour of

of *Scotland*, and General of the Army there, made himself ready for his Journey. In the interim News comes on a sudden, that Duke *Hamilton*, with his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, were posting up to *Oxford*. They, that they might make their Access easier to the King, who had hitherto given ear unto their Counsels, and to continue, or recover the good Opinion the King had of them, gave out all the Way as they came, especially unto the Governours of Shires and Towns, and Commanders of the Army, that they were banished their Country, that they had been plundred of their Estates by the Covenanters for their Loyalty to the King, and that for safety of their Lives, with which they had hardly escaped they fled to *Oxford*. But *Montrose*, and those of his Mind, saw plainly that these were but Tales of their own making, of purpose to wipe off the Suspicion of this new Guilt; and that by this means, they in Confidence of that Esteem they had lately with the King, and of a strong Faction they drove at Court, doubted not but they should stand as fair in his Opinion as ever, if they were but once admitted into the King's Presence: and that the only Business they had thither, was by defeating *Montrose* again, clearly to extinguish that little Spark of Loyalty that was not yet quite out in *Scotland*. And *Montrose* delivered himself freely, that, for his own Part, he would never stand by to be Witness of so great an Oversight: And therefore humbly besought the King that he would give him leave to seek his Fortune in some foraign Country, if these Men that had deceived him so oft should be received again into Favour: not that he desired any Severity should be used against them, only he wished the King might have a care that they should do him no more Harm. The King was drawn with much ado, that they should be forbidden the Court, yet for all that he suffered the Earl of *Lanerk* to live in the City. But he (by whose Instigations I cannot tell) betakes himself from *Oxford* to *London*, to the Parliament of *England*, and not long after to the *Scots* Army, which had now entered *England*, and never since hath failed to do them since the best Service he could. The Escape of his Brother so much moved the King, that he saw it high time to secure the Duke himself.

There were several *Scots* in the King's Court and Army, who were suspected (and perhaps not without reason) to
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favour the Covenanters too much, & to give Intelligence unto them of the King's Counsels. *Montrose*, that he might put these to the touch, took this Course, he got a Protestation to be drawn up by the King's Authority, unto which all *Scots*, who would have the Reputation of honest Men, were to set their Hands: Wherein they professed themselves heartily to detest the Courses of the Covenanters, condemned especially the bringing in of an Army into England against the King and the Laws of the Land, as an Act of High Treason; promised and vowed to acquit themselves of that Scandal, and to the utmost of their Power, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, to oppose those that were guilty of that Crime. This Protestation all Men of Honour and Honesty readily took; but there were two, in whom the King trusted most of all *Scots* Men, next to the *Hamiltons*, to wit, the Earl of *Traquair*, and Mr. *William Murray* of the Bed-Chamber, who were difficultly brought unto it at last with much Reluctancy, and Fear of being discovered Traitors: yet even they engaged themselves by a solemn Oath at a certain Day to be aiding and assisting unto *Montrose* in Scotland; which Oath of theirs afterward they most unworthily violated.

This being done, and *Montrose* on his Journey from Oxford towards Scotland, those that were the *Hamiltons* Creatures, and others False-hearted Courtiers, began to blast the Honour of *Montrose*, to call him a vain and ambitious Man, who had attempted an impossible thing: to extoll above measure the Power of the Covenanters, and that they might deterr every one from engaging himself in so Noble an Exploit, gave out every where most maliciously, that no Good was ever to be expected from *Montrose*.

He being little troubled with the Calumnies of unworthy Men, came forward to *York*, and so to *Durham*: where he sees that the King's Instructions be sent to the Marquis of *Newcastle*, and the next Day they met and conferred. *Newcastle* discours't of nothing but the Distress and Necessities of the Army; how his Rebel *Scots* breaking in, in the midst of Winter had spoiled his Recruits, and that now in far greater numbers than he, they quartered within Five Miles of him; that he could not possibly spare any Horse without a manifest hazard to the whole Army. *Montrose* urged on the other side, That nothing could do *Newcastle* more

more Service than to let him have a Party of Horſe (in which he was very ſtrong) with him into *Scotland*, that ſo he might either divert, or at leaſt divide the Enemy, and by kindling a fire in their own Houſes, fetcht them home again to defend themſelves. *Newcaſtle* courteouſly replied, That aſſoon as he had wound himſelf out of that preſent Danger, he would not be wanting in any Service to *Montroſe*: which promiſe there is no doubt but a Perſon of ſo much Honour and Loyalty would moſt ſurely have performed, had he continued any while in the Command of thoſe Parts. In the mean time, all that he could do for the preſent, was, to afford him about 100 Horſe, but lean ones, and ill accoutered, (which was not the General's fault, but ſome Mens private Spleen) with Two Braſs Field-pieces.

Moreover he ſent his orders unto the King's Officers and Commanders in *Cumberland* and *Westmoorland*, that they ſhould give *Montroſe* all the Succour and Aſſiſtance they could make for his Journey into *Scotland*. *Montroſe* going towards *Carlisle*, was accordingly met by the *Cumberland* and *Westmoorland* Men, conſiſting of Eight Hundred Foot, and Three Troops of Horſe, who according to the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*'s Command, were to wait upon him into *Scotland*. *Montroſe* himſelf brought with him Two Hundred Horſe, moſt of them Noblemen and Gentlemen, and ſuch as had been Captains either in *Germany*, *France*, or *England*. With which ſmall Forces (not over-truſty neither) he entred *Scotland* on the 13th of *April*; for he made the more haſte, leſt he ſhould have been abſent at the time appointed by the Earl of *Antrim*.

C H A P. IIII.

Montroſe having entred *Scotland*, had come to the River of *Anan*, when upon a Mutiny among the *Engliſh*, occaſioned by *Richard Graham*'s Souldiers, almoſt all of them flie their Colours, and in all haſte run back to *England*

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England. Notwithſtanding, he with his own Men came to *Dumfries*, and took the Town into Protection upon Surrender: and there he ſtaid a while that he might be ready to entertain *Antrim* and his *Iriſh*; but the Day appointed being already paſſ'd, there came not ſo much as a Meſſenger from them, nor the leaſt report of them into *Scotland*. And the Covenanters gathering themſelves together on every ſide, there was no ſtaying there any longer for *Montroſe*, without being ſurpriſed; therefore he returns ſafe to *Carlisle* with his Men. And ſeeing he could neither procure any Aid from the *Engliſh*, nor expected any Foreigners ſuddenly, nor had ſcarceany Hopes of Good from *Ireland*; and found that the Earl of *Callandar* had raiſed a new Army in *Scotland* to ſecond General *Leſly*, who had by this Time, together with the *Engliſh* Covenanters beſieged *York*, he reſolved, leſt he ſhould ſpend his Time idly, to engage himſelf among the King's Forces in *Northumberland* and the Biſhoprick. nor was that Reſolution either unprofitable to them, or diſhonourable to himſelf.

For having ferreted a Garriſon of the Covenanters out of the Town of *Morpeth*, he took in the Caſtle, permitted all the Pillage unto the *Engliſh*, and taking an Oath of them that had held it, That they ſhould never more fight againſt the King, he ſent them away without any greater Punishment. He took a Fort at the mouth of the River of *Tine* from the Covenanters, (who had not long before turned out an *Engliſh* Garriſon from thence) and diſmiſt the Priſoners upon the ſame Terms with thoſe of *Morpeth*. He plentifully viſtalled *Newcaſtle* with Corn brought from *Alnwick*, and other Places thereabouts. When this was done, he was ſent for by Letters from Prince *Rupert*, Count Palatine of *Rhyne*, who was then coming to raiſe the Siege of *York*. And although he made all the haſte he could, yet he met not the Prince till he was upon his Retreat the Day after that unfortunate Battel. And truly the Prince freely offered *Montroſe* a Thouſand Horſe to take along with him into *Scotland*, but ſome that were too powerful with him, dealt ſo with the good Prince, that the next Day after that Promiſe was made, there was not one Horſe to be had.

All things thus failing *Montroſe*, from which he expected any Aſſiſtance, yet his Spirit never failed him: therefor
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returning to *Carlisle* with those few, but Faithful and gallant Men that stuck close to him, he sends away the Lord *Ogilvie*, and Sir *William Rollock*, into the heart of *Scotland* in mean Disguise, lest they should be discovered by the Enemy. Within a fourthnight they returned, and brought word that all things in *Scotland* were desperate ; all Passes, Castles, Towns, possessed with Garrisons of the Covenanters, nor could they find any one so hardy as to dare to speak reverently or affectionately of the King. Most of those who had adhered to *Montrose* all this while, being cast down with this sad News, bethought themselves of bending their Courses some other way, especially when they were tampered with by that honest Man the Earl *Traquair* to desert the Service : who forgetting all his Vows and Imprecations he had made before the King, undertook in the Name of the Covenanters, not only for Indemnity to all that should fall off unto them, but Rewards and Preferments too ; as if he had been all this while an Agent for the Rebels, and not for the King, as he pretended. And yet this Man was greater in the King's Favour, and more confided in, than any one, except the *Hamiltons*.

Montrose calling his Friends to Council, desires them to deliver their Opinions what they conceived was fittest to be done in this sad Face of Things. Some advise him to repair to the King at *Oxford*, and certifie him that his *Scots* Affairs were past recovery ; that *Antrim* came not with his *Irish* Forces, nor was there any Appearance of them ; that little or no Assistance had been obtained from the *English* ; and as for Arms or Aid from Foreign Parts, he had not so much as heard a Word of them ; so that it was none of his fault that his Service had not better Success. Others were of Opinion, that it was better for him to excuse himself by Letters unto the King, and to send up his Commission along with them, and that he himself should step a while aside into some other Country, till such Time as it should please God to send better Opportunities. But all agreed in this, That nothing more was to be attempted or thought of in *Scotland*. But he himself only entertained far other thoughts in his high and undaunted Spirit ; He conceived himself bound never to forsake his dearest Lord the King, though in extremest Hazards, and that it was an Unworthiness to despair of so good a Cause ; and if he should attempt some
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greater matter than came within the Reach or Apprehension of common Men, he conjectured it might prove much to his own Honour, and something perhaps to the Kings Good too. For as it was dubious whether it might please God in his Mercy to look upon the King with a more favourable Eye, and to turn his Adversity into Prosperity; so it was most certain, that if he should not be able to go through with it, but Perish in the Enterprize, he should die with Honour, and his Fall should be much lamented. So resolved, and commending himself and his Success to the Disposal and Protection of Almighty God, he performed such Adventures without Men, without Money, without Arms, as were not only to the Astonishment of us that were present, and were Eye and Ear Witnesses of them, but also the Example and Envy both of all great Commanders hereafter. What those were we shall declare by and by.

Montrose delivers those few Gentlemen that had been constant unto him to the Lord *Ogilvie*, to be conducted unto the King, (for as he had communicated all his former Designs unto him, so he did this also) and conjureth him withal to deal earnestly with his Majesty for hastning of some Aid, if not of Men, yet of Arms at least, from beyond Seas. So he accompanying them Two Days on their Journey, and leaving with them his Horses, his Servants, and his Carriages, conveyed himself privily away from them, and with what speed he could, came back to *Carlisle*. The Company suspecting nothing of his Departure, because *Ogilvie* and other his dearest Friends were still with them, marched on straight towards *Oxford*; but thither they never reached, for most of them (of whom were the Lord *Ogilvie* himself, Sir *John Innes*, and Collonel *Henry Graham* his Brother, a most hopeful young Gentleman, *James*, *John* and *Alexander Ogilvies*, *Patrick Melvil*, and other gallant Men, and highly esteemed by *Montrose*) fell into the Enemies Hands, and endured a long and nasty Imprisonment, until they were set at Liberty by *Montrose* himself the next Year, after which they did him most faithful Service. He returning to *Carlisle* imparts his Design to the Earl of *Aboine*, lest he should have any Occasion to cavil afterwards, that a Matter of that Consequence was done without his Knowledge or Advice, who might have proved able to give a

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great Stroke to the advancing of it. But when he found something too much fickleness in that young Man, he was not over earnest to engage him to adventure with him in so perilous a Journey; and therefore easily persuaded him to reside at *Carlisle*, till he heard further News out of *Scotland*, by which Time it might be more seasonable for him to return to his Country.

And now being prepared for his Journey, he selected only two Men for his Companions and Guides; one was Sir *William Rollock*, a Gentleman of most known Honesty, and an able Man both of his Head and Hands. The other was one *Sibbald*, whom for the Report of his Valour and Gallantry, *Montrose* did equally love and honour: But the latter afterwards deserted him in his greatest Need. *Montrose* passing as *Sibbald*'s Man, and being disguised in the Habit of a Groom, rode along upon a lean Jade, and led another Horse in his Hand. And so he came to the Borders, where he found all ordinary and safe Passes guarded by the Enemy. There was a Chance happened, which put them in a greater Fright than all that, and it was this; Not far from the Borders they hit by Chance upon a Servant of Sir *Richard Graham*'s, who taking them for Covenanters, and to be of *Lesly*'s Army, who used to range about those Parts, told them freely and confidently, that his Master had made his Peace with the Covenanters, and had undertaken (as if he were their Sentinel) to discover unto them all such as came that Way, whom he suspected to favour the King. An unworthy Act it was of a shameless Villain, of whom not only *Montrose* had a very high Esteem, but his Majesty also, whose mistaken Bounty had raised him out of the Dunghill (to say no worse) unto the Honour of Knighthood, and an Estate, even to the Envy of his Neighbours.

Having not passed much further, they met a Souldier a Scotsman, but one that had served under the Marquis of *Newcastle* in *England*, who taking no notice of the other two Gentlemen, came to *Montrose*, and saluted him by his Name: *Montrose* giving no heed unto him, as if he were no such Man, the too Officious Souldier would not be so put off, but with a Voice and Countenance full of Humility and Duty, began to cry out, *What? Do not I know my Lord Marquis of Montrose well enough? Go your Way, and God be with you whithersoever you go.* When he saw it was in vain to conceal

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conceal himself from the Man, he gave him a few Crowns, and sent him away, nor did he discover him afterwards. But *Montrose* conceiving himself much concerned in these Speeches, thought it the best Course to make all the Haste he could, and to run faster than the News of him could flie. Nor did he spare any Horse Flesh, or scarce draw a Bridle, till, after four Days Travel, he came to the House of his Cousin *Patrick Graham* of *Innisbrake*, not far from the River of *Tay* on that Side of the Sheriffdom of *Perth*, which is next the Mountains. This *Patrick* being descended of the noble Family of *Montrose*, and not unworthy of so noble Parentage, was deservedly in very great Esteem with the Marquis, who sojourned beside him for a little while in the Day Time in a mean Cottage, and passed the Nights alone in the neighbouring Mountains. For he had sent away his Companions unto his Friends, that they might inform themselves exactly of the whole State of the Kingdom, and bring him Word in what Condition they found it.

After a few Days, having examined the Matter with all the Industry they could use, they return with nothing but sad and tragical News, *That all the Subjects that were honest and loyal, lay under the Tyranny of the Rebels; and of such as had been so hardy as to endeavour to recover their Freedom with their Swords, some were put to Death, others fined, others being yet in Prison, daily expected the worst their Enemies could do: That the Marquis of Huntly had laid down the Arms which too unadvisedly he had taken up at the first Summons of the Enemy; that indeed he had no contemptible Number of Men, but the Men wanted a good Commander; that his Friends and Dependents were exposed to the implacable Malice and Revenge of their Enemies, and that he himself had fled to the uttermost Corner of the Island, and sculked upon another Man's Land.* *Montrose* was very much troubled (as he had Reason) at this News, especially at *Huntly's* Error, and the Ruin of the *Gordons*, who were Men of singular Loyalty and Valour, and expert Souldiers, therefore much lamented by him, that for no Fault of theirs, they should come to so great Misfortune. And now he began to cast about how he might draw them to himself, that they might try again the Fortune of War under another General, in the Behalf of His most excellent Majesty.

C H A P. V.

IN the mean Time there were some uncertain Reports spread abroad among the Shepherds, who kept their Flocks in the Mountains, of certain *Irish* who were landed in the North of *Scotland*, and ranged about the Mountains, *Montrose* conceived it not unlikely that these might be Part of those Auxiliaries which the Earl of *Antrim* had promised should have been there four Months before ; but he had no Certainty what they were, till at last some Letters came from some intimate Friends of his, *Highlanders*, and from *Alexander M'Donald* a *Scotsman* also, to whom *Antrim* had given the Command in Chief of those few *Irish*, directed to *Montrose*. These they had taken Care to send to a certain Friend of his, a sure Man, that he might convoy them, if it were possible, to *Carlisle*, where *Montrose* was believed still to remain. He who never dreamed of *Montrose's* Return into *Scotland*, though he sojourned by him, by chance acquainted Mr. *Patrick Graham* with the Business, he promiseth to take Charge of them, and undertaketh to see them safely delivered to *Montrose*, though he made a Journey as far as *Carlisle* of Purpose ; and so by the good Providence of God they came into his Hands much sooner than could be expected. And he writes back as from *Carlisle*, that they should be of good Comfort, for they should not stay long either for sufficient Assistance to join with them, or a General to command them ; and withal requires them forthwith to come down into *Athol*.

The People of *Athol* were engaged unto *Montrose* by many Obligations, Men whom he valued most of all the *Highlanders*, both for their Loyalty, Piety, Constancy, and singular Valour ; and truly they made good his Opinion of them to the very End of the War. The *Irish*, with a very few *Highlanders*, who were almost all of *Badenoch*, receiving *Montrose's* Commands, marched straight into *Athol*. He who was not above twenty Miles from them, comes to them immediately,

mediately, and ere ever they looked for him, on Foot, in the Habit of a Mountaineer, without any Man along with him, save the above said *Patrick Graham* his Guide and Companion. And indeed the *Irish* would hardly be persuaded that, that was *Montrose*; but when they saw him so saluted, and only not adored like some great Deity by the Men of *Athol*, and others that knew him well, they were overjoyed: For his coming to them was in exceeding good Time, they being then in extreme Danger to be cut off. For *Argyll* was in their Rear with a strong and well ordered Army, the Champaign Country were ready in Arms before them, expecting they should make down into the Plain, to trample them to Dirt with their Horses Hoofs; the Vessels that brought them over were burnt by *Argyle*, that they might have no Way to retreat; nor would the *Athol* Men, or any other that favoured the King, venture any Hazard with them, because they were Strangers, and came not by the King's open and known Authority; nor had they any Commander of ancient Nobility, a Thing by the *Highlanders* much set by, who would not fight under the Command of *Alexander M'Donald*, a Man of no Account with them. Lastly, Their Number was inconsiderable, being not above eleven hundred, though ten thousand had been promised.

The next Day the *Athol* Men, to the Number of eight hundred, put themselves in Arms, and offered their Service most cheerfully to *Montrose*; who having got this Handful of Men, and earnestly commending his most righteous Cause to the Protection of Almighty God, now desired nothing more than to be among the thickest of the Enemy. Impatient therefore of further Delay, that very Day he marches through the Plains of *Athol* towards *Ern*; as well to make Way for his Friends and Assistants easier Access unto him (if any should rise upon the News) as that he might fall upon and amaze the Rebels unlook'd for, before they should be able to join together, who lay at a Distance. Therefore passing by *Weme*, a Castle of the *Menzieses*, seeing they handled a Trumpeter whom he sent friendly unto them, unworthily, and fell hotly upon the Rear of his Army, he wastes their Fields, and causes all their Houses and Corn to be fired; this was at the very first Onset of the War, to strike Terrour into the Enemy. The same Night he passed over *Tay*, the greatest River in Scotland

land, with Part of his Forces; the rest follow him very early the next Day. When they were ready to march on, he gave *Patrick Graham* (of whom I shall have Occasion often to speak, and never without Honour) at their earnest Request, the Command of the *Athol* Men, and sent him with the nimblest of them he could pick out amongst them to scout before. He brings Word he saw some Souldiers drawn up on the Top of an Hill at *Buckinb*: Towards them *Montrose* makes straight. These proved to be commanded by the Lord *Kilpant* Son to the Earl of *Monteith*, a Man of ancient Nobility, and descended of the *Grahams*; and Sir *John Drummond*, Son to the Earl of *Perth*, a Kinsman also of *Montrose*; who were both of them summoned by the Covenanters to join against the *Irish* as the common Enemy, and had with them five hundred Foot, and no more; nor had they heard any Certainty at all of *Montrose's* being in those Parts. He resolveth with all Speed to surprize them, and either to win them to his Side, or to crush them to Pieces. But they, as soon as they heard that *Montrose* was General of those Forces, send unto him some of their chiefeest Friends to understand from him what he intended to do. He tells them he had the King's Authority for what he did, and was resolved to assert that Authority to the utmost of his Power, against a most horrid Rebellion, conjuring them by all the Obligations that were between them, That they would not think much to do their best Endeavours for the best of Kings. Which as it was much becoming their high Birth, and would be very acceptable Service to the King, so it would be beneficial unto them for the present, and much to their Honour with Posterity and Strangers, if they of all others should be the first that put to their helping Hands to hold up a tottering Throne. They most readily, without any delay, came in unto him, for both of them, though under Hand, favoured the King exceedingly.

From them *Montrose* understood that the Covenanters were thick in Arms at a Rendezvous at *Perth* (the second City to *Edinburgh*) and there waited for their Enemies falling down from *Athol*. He knowing also that *Argyle* with his Army was upon his Back, lest he should be hemm'd in on both Sides, determines to go forward to *Perth*, that there he might either force the Enemy to fight, or reduce the Town to the King's Obedience. Marching therefore three Miles from

very early on, he gave on often to left Request, with the em to scout s drawn up m *Montrose* led by the of ancient d Sir *John* man also of y the Cove- nemy, and e; nor had ing in those them, and n to Pieces. as General ttest Friends b. He tells id, and was his Power, all the Obli- t, think much Which as it e very accep- nto them for y and Stran- put to their y most rea- for both of ing exceed-

from *Buckinb*, and allowing the Souldiers but a short time of refreshment, at the break of the day he draws out his Men. Nor was he above three Miles more from the City, when the Enemy was in view in a large and open Plain (called *Tippermoor*) providing to fight. They were commanded by the Lord *Elcho*, one that was taken for no great Souldier; there were with him the Earl of *Tullibardin*, and the Lord *Drummond*, but this latter (as was conceived) against his Will; for he and his Father's whole Family favoured the King in their Hearts: Knights he had with him good store, among whom Sir *James Scot* (who heretofore had done good service under the State of *Venice*) was the most noted Souldier. They had Six Thousand Foot, and Seven Hundred Horse, and in confidence of their numbers, they had even devoured their Enemies before they saw them. It was on *Snuday* the first of *September*, and it was given in charge to their Ministers, that in set Speeches they should encourage the People to fight, not forgetting to mind them of their most Holy Covenant forsooth. And to give them their due they plyed their Lungs stoutly in the performance of that Work; they most freely promised them in the Name of the Almighty GOD an easy and unbloody Victory; nay, there was one *Frederick Carmichael*, one very much cried up for Learning and Holiness by the silly People, who was not afraid to deliver this Passage in his Sermon, *If ever God spake word of Truth out of my Mouth, I promise you in His Name assured Victory this Day.*

GOD's Service being thus finely performed as they thought they put their Men in *Battalia*, *Elcho* himself commanded the right Flank, Sir *James Scot* the left, and the Earl of *Tullibardin* the Battle. To the right and left Flanks were added Wings of Horse, with which they made no doubt on so fair a Plain to hemme in the Enemy. *Montrose* perceiving the great body of the Enemy, and especially their strength in Horse, (for he had not so much as one Horseman, nor more than three lean horses) and being careful (as it concerned him) lest being encompassed with so great a number, they should fall upon him in the Front, Rear and Flank, he caused his Army to be drawn out, to as open order as could be possible, and makes his Files only three deep. He commands the Ranks all to discharge

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at once, those in the first Rank kneeling, in the second stooping, and in the hindmost, where he placed the Tallest Men upright, he chargeth them also to have a care of mis-spending their Powder, of which they had so small store; and that they should not so much as make a shot till they came to the very Teeth of their Enemies; and as soon as they had discharged their Muskets once a piece, immediately to break in upon the Enemy with their Swords and Musket-ends; which if they did, he was very confident the Enemy would never endure the Charge. *Montrose* undertakes the Command of the right Flank over against *Sir James Scot*, appoints the left to the Lord *Kilpont*, and the main Battle to *M'donald* with his *Irish*; which was very providently ordered lest the *Irish* who were neither used to fight with long Pikes, nor were furnished with Swords, if they had been placed on either Flank should have been exposed to the Fury of the *Scots* Horse.

Montrose had sent unto the Commanders of the Enemy, *Drummond* Son and Heir to the Lord *Maderty*, a noble Gentleman, and accomplished with all kind of Vertues, who declared in his Name, *That Montrose, as well as the King's Majesty from whom he had received his Commission, was most tender of shedding his Countrys Blood, and had nothing more in his Devotions than that his Victories might be Written without a red Letter. And such a Victory they might obtain as well as he, if they should please but to have the Honour to conquer themselves, and before a stroke were struck to return to their Alledgance. That for his part he was covetous of no Mans Wealth, ambitious of no Mans Honour, envious at no Mans Preferment, thirsty after no Mans Blood; all that he desired was, That in the Name of GOD they would give ear to sound Counsel, and submit themselves and what belonged unto them unto the Grace and Protection of so good a King: who as he had hitherto condescended unto all things (either for matter of Religion or any thing else) which they thought good to ask, though to the exceeding great prejudice of his Prerogative; so still they might find him like an indulgent Father ready to embrace his penitent Children in his Arms, although he had been provoked with unspeakable Injuries. But if they should continue still obstinate in their Rebellion, he called GOD to witness that it was their own stubbornness that forced him to the present Encounter.* The Commanders of the Enemies answered

answered nothing at all to all this; but against the Law of Nations sent the Messenger (who out of meer Love to his Country had undertaken the Employment) Prisoner with a company of rude Souldiers unto *Perth*, vowing as soon as they had got the Victory to cut off his Head. But GOD was more Merciful to him, and provided otherwise than they intended, for the Safety of that gallant Man.

They were come within Musket shot when the Enemies under the Command of the Lord *Drummond* sent out a Forlorn-hope to provoke *Montrose* to a light Skirmish: He sends a few to meet them, who at the first Onset disorder and rout them, sending them back to their main Body in no small fright, *Montrose* thought, now was his Opportunity, and that nothing could conduce more either to the Encouragement of his own Souldiers, or the Terror of the Enemy, than immediately to fall upon them as they were disordered and astonished with that fresh Blow, nor would he give them time to Rally or recover Courage: Therefore setting up a great shout, he lets loose his whole Army upon them. The Enemy first at distance discharge their Ordinance, which made more noise than they did harm, afterwards marching forward, their Horse labour to break in upon *Montrose's* Souldiers; those when their Powder was spent, and many of them had neither Pikes nor scarce Swords, they stoutly entertain with such Weapons as the place would afford, good Stones, of which they poured in such a number amongst them with so great Strength and Courage, that they forced them to retreat and to trouble them no more, For the *Irish* and *Highlanders* striving bravely whether should out-vie the other in Valour, bore up so eagerly when they gave ground, that at last they betook themselves to the nimbleness of their Horses Heels. There was something more to do a little while longer in the right Flank. Sir *James Scott* disputed some time for the higher ground, but *Montrose's* Men being strongly bodied, and especially swifter Footmen obtained the Hill; from thence the *Athol*-men rushed down with their drawn Swords upon the Enemy, and making little account of the Musquetiers, who sent their Bullets amongst them as thick as Hail, closing with them (as they lik't best to fight) they slasht and beat them down. At last the Enemy not able to abide their Fury, fairly ran away.

Most

Most of the Horse made so good speed as to save themselves; but there was a great slaughter of the Foot, whom they pursued for six or seven Miles, There was conceived to be Two Thousand of the Covenanters Slain, and more were taken Prisoners: of whom some taking a Military Oath, took up arms again with the Conquerour; but perfidiously, for almost all forsook him afterwards. The rest taking a solemn Protestation that they would never after bear Arms against the King, he set at liberty. He took in *Perth* the same day, without doing the least harm unto the City, although most of the Citizens had Fought against him in this Battle; thinking by so great Clemency to turn the Hearts of the People towards their King, which was the only end to which he directed all his Designs.

CHAP. VI.

HE staid three Days at *Perth*, for there he expected many in those parts to come in with their Friends and Clients armed, who upon the noise of the late Victory professed themselves most faithful to the King; but none came but the Earl of *Kinoul*, with a few Gentlemen of *Gowry*, nor did they continue very constant unto him neither. And by this time *Argyll* was at hand with a great Army of Foot of his own, and supplies of Horse, were joyned with him out of the *South* parts; therefor *Montrose* passing over the *Tay* took up his Quarters in the field (for other Quarters he seldom had,) near *Couper* a little Village in *Angus*, where a famous Monastery once stood, but now lyes on the Ground. Here a brave young Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Ogilvie* Son to the Earl of *Airly*, with others of the Gentry of *Angus*, met him and readily offered him their Service; whom he Courteously entertained, and sent them away with thanks, they pretending, they only went to fit themselves for a March, nevertheless few of them returned besides the *Ogilvies*.

Next morning by break of day before the *Reveiller* was beat

beat, there was a great Tumult in the Camp, the Souldiers ran to their Arms, and fell to be wild and raging; *Montrose* guessing that it was some falling out between the *Highlanders* and the *Irish*, thrust himself in amongst the thickest of them: There he finds a most horrible Murder newly committed, for the noble Lord *Kilpont* lay there basely slain. The Murderer was a retainer of his own, one *Stewart*, whom he had treated with much Friendship and Familiarity, in that, that same Night they lay both in a Bed. It is reported, that the base Slave had a Plot to dispatch *Montrose*, and in Regard of the great Power he had with *Kilpont*, he conceived he might draw him in to be accessary to the Villainy, therefore taking him aside into a private Place, he had discovered unto him his Intentions; which the noblemen highly detested, as was meet; whereupon the Murderer fearing he would discover him, assaulted him unawares, and stabbed him with many Wounds, who little suspected any Harm from his Friend and Creature. The treacherous Assassin, by killing a Centinel, escaped, none being able to pursue him, it being so dark, that they could scarce see the End of their Pikes. Some say the Traitor was hired by the Covenanters to do this, others only, That he was promised a Reward if he did it. Howsoever it was, this is most certain, That he is very high in their Favour unto this very Day, and that *Argyll* immediately advanced him (though he was no Souldier) to great Commands in his Army. *Montrose* was very much troubled with the Loss of this Nobleman his dear Friend, and one that had deserved very well both from the King and himself, a Man famous for Arts and Arms, and Honesty; being a good Philosopher, a good Divine, a good Lawyer, a good Souldier, a good Subject, and a good Man: And embracing the breathless Body again and again with Sighs and Tears, he delivers it to his sorrowful Friends and Servants, to be carried to his Parents to receive its funeral Obsequies, as became the Splendor of that honourable Family.

With the rest of his Forces *Montrose* marcheth to *Dundee*: The Town being proud of the Number of its Inhabitants, and having a Garrison out of *Fife* beside, refused to submit: And he thinking it no Wisdom to hazard the Honour he had gotten by his late Victory upon the doubtful Success of a Siege, turns away toward *Eske*; for he hoped that many

many of his Friends and Kindred, being Men of greatest Note in those Parts, and who used to talk as highly what they would do for the King as any others, would be ready to join with him. But they having News of his Approach withdrew themselves: Only the Lord Ogilvie Earl of Airly, a Man of threescore Years old, (with his two Sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David, and some of his Friends and Clients, Men of experienced Resolutions) joined himself unto him: And with admirable Constancy he went along with him through all Fortunes unto the very End of the War; being in that almost universal Defection, the other Honour and Ornament of the Nobility of Scotland besides *Montrose*.

While *Montrose* was hereabouts, he receives Intelligence that some Commissioners from the Covenanters (of whom the Lord *Burley* was the Principal) lay at *Aberdeen* with an Army, and laboured to assure unto themselves the Northern Parts, upon which *Montrose* especially relied, either by fair Means or foul. He determines to fight these Immediately before *Argyll* could come up to them, therefore with long Marches he hies thither; and possessing himself of the Bridge upon the River *Dee*, and drawing near the City, he found the Enemy drawn up close beside it. *Burley* commanded Two thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse, whom he placed in Wings; and having chosen his Ground, and planted his great Guns before his Men, he expected Battel. *Montrose* had fifteen hundred Foot (for the Lord *Kilpont's* Souldiers were gone to convoy their Lord's dead Body to his Parents, and most of the *Athol* Men after the Victory of *Perth* were gone Home, from whence they were not far, laden with Spoil) and just four and forty Horse, of whom he made two Divisions, and mixing amongst them the best Fire-men and Archers that he had (who in Nimbleness and Swiftnes of Body were almost as good as Horsemen) placed them on either Wing, to prevent the falling of the Enemies Horse upon his Rear, which they performed most gallantly, beyond the Opinion, or perhaps the Belief of Many. He gave the Command of the Right Flank to *James Hay* and *Nathaniel Gordon*, and of the Left to Sir *William Rollock*, all valiant Men. the left Wing of the Enemy was commanded by *Lewis Gordon*, Son to the Marquis of *Huntly*, a bold young Man, and hot Spirited, but hair Brain'd, and one that had forced out his Father's Friends

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Friends and Clients to fight with *Montroſe* againſt their Wills. He having got the plain and moſt commodious Ground for fighting on Horſe-back, charged *Montroſe's* right Flank: Which when he perceived, he commanded *Rellock* with his twenty Horſe to their Aid; and they, being backed with the Gallantry of their Commanders, and the Activity and Stoutneſs of the Foot amongſt them, received the Charge with ſo much Hardineſs, that they four and forty beat back full three hundred of the Enemy, routing all, and killing very many. But becauſe they were ſo few, they durſt not follow the Chafe: which was forbore by the great Prudence of the Commanders, and proved to be of great Conſequence towards the obtaining of the Victory: For the Enemy charged *Montroſe's* left Flank, which had no Horſe, with their right Wing of Horſe. *Montroſe* therefore in a Trice (now that *Lewis Gordon* and his men were fled) conveys the ſame Horſe to the left Flank; who ſeeing they were not able to draw themſelves into a Body like the Enemies, fetch'd a Compaſs about, and ſo eſcaped their firſt Charge; then neatly wheeling about, they fell upon the Flank of the Enemy, and with their naked Swords beat, and cut, and vanquiſh'd, and put them to flight. They took Priſoners one *Forbes* of *Craigievar*, a Knight of great Eſteem with the Enemy, and another *Forbes* of *Boindle*. Thoſe that retreated got all ſafe away, becauſe that ſo few could not ſafely purſue them. They that commanded the Enemies Horſe were not ſo much frightened with their Loſs, as vexed with the Diſgrace of a double Repulſe, therefore imputing their Deſeat to thoſe light Firelocks that were mixed with *Montroſe's* Horſe, they themſelves call for Foot-men out of their main Body, intending to return with greater Courage. *Montroſe* ſuſpected that, and was loath to engage thoſe few gallant Men again, whoſe Horſe were ſpent already in two ſharp Services with the Enemy, who was reinforced with freſh Foot. Therefore obſerving the Enemies Horſe not yet rallied ſince their new Rout, and ſtanding at a ſufficient Diſtance from their Foot; he rode about among his own Foot, (who had been ſore galled already with the Enemies Ordinance) and beſpeaks them to this Effect: *We do no Good (my fellow Souldiers) while we diſpute the Matter at thus much Diſtance, except we cloſe up with them, how ſhall we know an able Man from a weak, a valiant Man from a Cow-*

ard? If ye would assail these timorous and brawnless Shrimps with handy Blows, they will never be able to stand you. Go to therefore, fall about them with your Swords, and But-Ends of your Muskets, beat them down, drive them back, and make them pay what is justly due for their Treason and Rebellion. It was no sooner said, than they fall to Work, break in upon the Enemy, defeat them, rout them. Their Horse, who expected Foot to come and line them, seeing them all run away, ran faster than they, whom the Conquerors were not able to follow, much less to overtake, so they scaped Scot-free; but the Foot paid for all, few of which escaped the Victor's Hands. For having no other Place to fly unto, but into the City, Montrose's Men came in thronging amongst them through the Gates and Posterns, and laid them on Heaps all over the Streets. They fought four Hours upon such equal Terms, that it was an even Lay whether had the odds. At this Battel Montrose had some great Guns, but they were unserviceable, because all Advantages of Ground were possessed by the Enemy; but the Enemies Guns made no small Havock of his Men. Among others, there was an *Irish-man* had his Legs shot off with a Cannon Bullet, only it hung by a little Skin; he seeing his Fellow-Souldiers something sad at his Mischance, with a loud and cheerful Voice cries out, *Come on my Comerades, this is but the Fortune of War, and neither you nor I have any Reason to be sorry for it. Do you stand to it as becomes you, and as for me, I am sure my Lord Marquis, seeing I can no longer serve on Foot, will mount me on Horseback:* So drawing out his Knife, being nothing altered nor troubled, he cut asunder the Skin with his own Hand, and gave his Leg to one of his Fellow-Souldiers to bury. And truly when he was well again, and made a Trooper, he often did very faithful and gallant Service. This Battel was fought at *Aberdeen* on the twelfth Day of September 1644. Then Montrose calling his Souldiers back to their Colours entred the City, and allowed them two Days Rest.

C H A P. VII.

IN the mean Time News is brought, That *Argyll* was hard by with much greater Forces than those they dealt with last, the *Earl of Lothian* accompanying him with fifteen hundred Horse. Therefore *Montrose* removes from *Aberdeen* to *Kintore*, a Village ten Miles off, that he might make an easier Access unto him for the *Gordons* (the Friends and Dependents of the Marquis of *Huntley*) and others that were supposed much to favour the King's Cause. From thence he sends Sir *William Rollock* to *Oxford*, to acquaint His Majesty with the good Success he had hitherto obtained, and to desire Supplies out of *England*, or some Place else. *That he had fought twice indeed very prosperously, but it could not be expected, that seeing he was so beset on all Sides with great and numerous Armies, he should be able to hold out always without timely Relief.* Still nothing troubled *Montrose* more, than that none of the *Gordons*, of whom he conceived great Hopes, came in unto him. And there wanted not some of them, who testified their great Affection to the Service, but that *Huntley* the chief of the Family, being a Back-friend to *Montrose*, had with-held them all, either by his own Example, or private Directions; and that himself being forced to sculk in the utmost Border of the Kingdom, envied that Honour to another, of which he had missed himself, and had forbidden, even with Threats, all those with whom he had any Power, to have any Thing to do with *Montrose*, or to assist him either with Power or Counsel. Which when he understood, he resolved to withdraw his Forces into the Mountains and Fastness, where he knew the Enemies Horse (wherein their great Strength consisted) could do them little Service; and of their Foot (if they were never so many) relying upon the Justice of his Cause, and the Valour of his Souldiers, he made but little Reckoning. Therefore he hid his Ordinance in a Bog, and quitted all his troublesome and heavy Carriages. And coming to the Side of the River of *Spey*,

not far from an old Castle called *Rothmurkie*, he encamped there with an Army, if one respect the Number, but very small, but it was an expert and cheerful one, and now also something acquainted with Victory.

On the other side of the *Spey*, he finds the Men of *Cathnes*, and *Sutherland*, and *Ross*, and *Murray* and others, to the Number of Five Thousand up in Arms, to hinder the Passage over the swiftest River in all *Scotland*, till such Time as *Argyll*, who marched after him, was upon his Back. Being oppressed, and as it were besieged with so many Enemies on every Side ; that at least he might save himself from their Horse, he turned into *Badenoch*, a rocky and mountainous Country, and scarce passable for Horse. There for certain Days he was very sick, which caused so immoderate Joy to the Covenanters, that they doubted not to give out he was quite dead, and to ordain a Day of publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God for that great Deliverance. Nor were their Levites (you may be sure, backward in that Imployment in their Pulpits, for as if they had been of Council at the Decree, and stood by at the Execution, they assured the People that it was as true as Gospel, that the Lord of Hosts had slain *Montrose* with his own Hands. But this Joy did not last them long, for he recovered in a short Space ; and as if he had been risen from the Dead, he frightened his Enemies much more than he had done before. For as soon as his Disease would give him Leave, he returned into *Athol*, and sent away *M'Donald* with a Party unto the *Highlanders*, to invite them to take up Arms with him ; and if they would not be invited, to force them. He himself goes into *Angus*, hoping it might happen that he should either force *Argyll* with his tired Horse into his Winter Quarters, or at least leave him far enough behind him. For *Argyll* had pursued him so slowly, and at such Distance, that it was apparent he thought of nothing less than of giving him Battle. Therefore going through *Angus*, and getting over the *Grainsbain* (which going along with a perpetual Ridge from East to West, divideth *Scotland* into two equal Parts) he returned into the North of the Kingdom. And now, that he had left *Argyll* so far behind him, that he might safely take some Time to recruit, he went to *Strathbogie*, that he might meet with the *Gordons*, and persuade them to engage with him.

But

But he lost his Labour, for they were forestalled by *Huntley*, and after his example play'd least in Sight. For such as were generous and daring Spirits, though they were loath to provoke the Indignation of their Chief, yet they could not but be ashamed, that at a time when there might be so much use of them they did nothing. Besides the Lord *Gordon*, *Huntley's* eldest Son (a Man of singular Worth and Accomplishment) was detained by *Argyll* his Uncle by the Mothers side ! the Earl of *Aboine* the second Son was inclosed within the Siege of *Carlisle*; and *Lewis* another Son was of the Enemies side ; so that there was no one of *Huntley's* Family under whose Authority they should take up Arms.

Notwithstanding *Montrose* quartered there a great While ; in which Time almost every other Night marching seven, or eight, or ten Miles with a Party of light Foot (for Horse he had few or none) he used to give Alarms to the Enemy, beat up their Quarters, put them to flight, and frequently to bring home Horse and Men Prisoners. And because he always brought his Men safe off, it was strange to see how cheerful and daring his Souldiers were ; so that though their Number was not great, there was nothing that he would lead them on unto that seemed great to them. At last when he despaired of any Good to be done with the *Gordons*, at the End of *October* he removed from *Strathbogy*, and came to *Fairy* Castle and posselt it. There he was like to have been utterly undone by the bad and false Intelligence his Scouts, in whom he put great Confidence, brought unto him concerning the Enemy : For those whom they perswaded him were scarce got over *Grainsbain* were on a sudden encamped within Two Miles of him. *Argyll* and *Lothian* had there Two Thousand Five Hundred Foot, and Twelve Hundred Horse : *Montrose*, now when *M'Donald* was absent with a party, had Fifteen Hundred Foot, and about Fifty Horse. If he should have descended into the Plain with so small strength, it had been Madness ; and to keep a Castle (and no strong one neither) he thought dishonourable, and derogatory to the Credit of his late Victories. Therefore he bethought himself of another Course, he draws his Men up unto a higher Hill which over-look't the Castle. The Soil of the Hill was rough, and there were Hedges also and Ditches cast up there by Husbandmen for the Fences

Fences of their fields, which were almost as useful as Breast-works. But before he had appointed every one his Ground to draw up in, those few of *Huntley's* Dependants which accompanied *Montrose* from *Strathbogy*, in the sight of all People fairly betook them to their Heels. And on the other side, the Enemy driving fiercely up the Hill, made themselves Master of no small Part of it; which if they had been able to maintain with the same vigour that they had obtained it, *Montrose* had been a lost Man: whose Souldiers, discouraged both by the timorous flight of some of their own, and the multitude of their Enemies Forces, were well near ready to turn their backs; then *Montrose* presently put Life and Courage into them by his own Example and Presence, by putting them in mind of their former Achievements, and their own sense of their wonted Prowess. Moreover he thus bespake a young Irish Gentleman, one Colonel O Kyan, *Go thy way, O Kyan with such Men as thou hast at Hand, and drive me those Fellows out of yonder Ditches, that we may be no more troubled with them.* The gallantry of O Kyan *Montrose* had often seen and commended; nor did that truly valiant Man deceive the General's Opinion of him; for he quickly firreted the Enemy out of the Ditches, though they much out-nubred his Men, and were seconded with a Party of Horse. And not only so but gained some Bags of Powder which the Enemy had left behind them for haste, a very seasonable Prey, of which they had great Need. Nor doth a notable Example of the forwardness of the Souldiers seem to me unworthy in this Place to be remembred; for one of them looking upon the Bags of Powder, *What (saith he) have they given us no Bullets? Mary but we must fetch Bullets too from those sparing Distributers of Ammunition.* As if it had been altogether the Enemies Duty to provide them Necessaries for the War.

In the mean Time his Horse (which were but fifty) being disposed in a Place of Danger, he timely secured them by lining them with Musketers. For *Lothian* charged them with five whole Troops, who before they had crossed over half a Field that lay between them, being scarred with our Shot, wheel'd about, and returned to the Place from whence they came. *Montrose's* Men being encouraged with these two Successes, could hardly be kept off from falling on with a Shout upon the whole Body of the Enemy: Whom *Mont-*

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Montrose restrains rather with with a Kind of Commendation of
 them (as was meet) than Reproof, only bids every one
 know his own Duty and wait his Commands. Towards
 Night, *Argyll* having done nothing to any Purpose, retreats
 two Miles off, and slept not that Night. But the next Day,
 when he was told that *Montrose's* Souldiers had great Scarcity
 of Powder and Bullet, drawing his Men into the same
 Ground again, he made as though he would have charged
 up the Hill, and beaten *Montrose* out of his Hold. But
 then his Heart failed him in that Enterprize, besides some
 Skirmishes between small Parties, while the main Bodies
 kept their Ground, there was nothing done that Day neither.
 All this While *Montrose* sends for all Dishes, and Flaggons,
 and Chamber-pots, and what other Peuther Vessels could
 be had, and caused them to be melted into Bullet; yet when
 that was done, the Souldiers had not enough. With which
 great Inconvenience, the Souldiers were so little troubled,
 that one as often as he made a Shot (which he presumed
 never missed) he would say merrily to his Comerades, *As sure*
as can be I have broken one Traitors Face with a Chamber-pot.
 Nor will any one wonder if *Montrose's* Men were oft in want
 of Powder and other Necessaries for War, when he considers
 they had no other Way to supply themselves with them,
 but out of their Enemies Stock. And now the second Day
 being almost spent, *Argyll* withdraws his Men over the
 River, the Way that they came, three Scots Miles (which
 make one Dutch Mile) off. The Time was thus spent at
 Fairy for several Days, *Argyll* carrying nothing away with
 that great Army, but Disgrace among his Friends, and Con-
 tempt among his Enemies; for it was wholly imputed to his
 Cowardize, that there he had not made an absolute Con-
 quest.

At last *Montrose* (left by marching away in the Day-time
 he might have some of his Rear cut off by the Enemies
 Horse) takes the Advantage of the Night to return to *Strath-*
bogy, where he intended to make some Stay; both because
 the Craiginess of the Country was a good Security to his
 Souldiers against the Incurfions of the Enemies Horse;
 and because it was near those Places from whence he daily
 expected *McDonald* with what Highlanders he could raise.
 The next Day the Enemy pursues him, with an Intention to
 force him to fight with them in the open Field: And truly
 assoon

assoon as they came in Sight of them, drawing up their Men, they made ready to Battle, as if they would have fallen on with all their Power. But a forlorn Hope of Highlanders was sent before by *Argyll*, to engage *Montrose* in a light Skirmish, who were manfully entertained and repulsed. Then *Montrose* having possessed himself of the highest Ground, *Argyll* alters his Resolution, and thinks upon that which was more safe, and less honourable. He desires a Cessation, proposes that Engagements may be given on both Sides for a Conference and Treaty; yet at the same Time he did not only tempt the Souldiers to forsake *Montrose*, by promising them Indemnity and Rewards to boot; but (which is a Shame to say even of an Enemy) set a great Price upon *Montrose's* Head, to be paid unto any Assassin or Murderer that should bring it in. Of which, when *Montrose* was well assured (who well knew the Disposition of the Man to be more bent to overreach and betray, than to fight with his Enemy) he thought nothing concerned him more, than with all Speed to bring off those small Forces he had as far as he could, both from *Argyll's* Horse and Knavery.

Therefore calling a Council of War, he declares his Opinion, they all approve his Wisdom, and promise to continue their Fidelity, and their best Endeavours to serve him. Therefore he resolveth upon a long March, the next Night, as far as *Badenob*; and that the Souldiers might be lighter for so great a Journey, he sent the Carriages before with a Guard, and bid the Souldiers make themselves ready against the next Day, as if they were to fight. And now the Carriages were on the way, when on a sudden, News came, that *Forbes* of *Craigievar*, a Prisoner, (to whom upon the Engagement of his Honour for his true Imprisonment, *Montrose* had given the liberty of the Camp) and that *Sibbalds*, who, besides *Rollock*, was only of his Council and Company when he came out of *England*, and some others had made an Escape and run away to the Enemy. He was troubled at the Perfidiousness of the Men, and justly suspected that they, to ingratiate themselves with the Enemy, would betray his Councils. Therefore he straight called back the Convoy with the Carriages, and seemed as if he had wholly altered his Resolutions. But indeed he altered them not, but thought it fit to delay them for a Time, that the Intelligence which

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the Enemy received from his fugitives, might appear unto them idle and uncertain. But after four Days he sent the Carriages a way again before him, and making Fire through all the Camp, he placed all the Horse he had within view of the Enemy, as if they kept their Guard there, till such time as the Foot were marched far enough from danger, and then brought the Horse also safe off, and all by break of day came to *Balveny*. And now being safe from having their Quarters beaten up by the Enemies Horse, and they no further pursuing, it being also the very deep of Winter, he allowed a few Days unto the refreshment of his Souldiers. And at this Time especially *Argyll* began to appear in his own colours, and his subtilities were manifested. For most of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and prime Souldiers that were with *Montrose* (who setting aside *Irish-men* and *Highlanders*, had more Commanders than private Souldiers in his Army) deserted him and fell off to *Argyll*. Some of them pretended Sickness, others Disability to make such long marches in Winter time, over Mountains uninhabited, unpassable, full of nothing but Stones and Bryars, for the most part deep in Snow, and never travelled over by any Man alive. And therefore fore against their Wills, as they said, and being compelled to depart by an extreme Necessity, they desired to pass: which he denyed to none that askt; but yet lookt upon them rather with a kind of Indignation and Scorn, than Approbation or Compassion. Nor can one easily say how much the Example of such Men weakened his Forces, and how much it disheartened many that intended to have listd themselves under his Command. But the old Lord *Ogilvie* the Earl of *Airley*, a Man of Threescore Years old, and not very healthy neither, together with two of his Sons most worthy of such a Father, *Sir Thomas* and *Sir David*, could never be persuaded even in the extremest hazard of their Lives to depart from him.

C H A P. VIII.

Montrose returning from *Balveny* to *Badenoch*, met a very Faithful Intelligencer, who gave him notice that *Argyll* with his Foot (for his Horse were gone to their Winter Quarters) lay at *Dunkel*, and that from thence he used all his Industry to perswade the *Athol*-men to revolt. Although he was assured of their Loyalty, nevertheless with incredible Haste goes down into *Athol*, For in one Night he marched with his Forces Four and Twenty Miles, through ways untrodden, untilld, full of Snow, waste and never inhabited by mortal Man, to the intent he might fall upon *Argyll*, whiles he had not his Horse about him. But he being frighted with the Report of his coming, when *Montrose* was yet Sixteen Miles off, bid his Men shift for themselves, and he himself fled as fast as he could into *Perth*, wherein the Covenanters had a strong Garrison. *McDonald* was by this time returned, and brought along with him the Chief of the *Macrenalds* with his Men to the number of Five Hundred : and *Montrose* himself added to that number *Patrick Graham* with some choice Men of *Athol*. Being recruited with these, he marcheth to the Lake out of which the River of *Tay* breaks forth, to pass from thence through *Braidalbin* into the Country of *Argyll* : for he thought an Enemy could never be so happily overthrown as in his own Country. And truly he had many strong Reasons for that Resolution. In the first place, *Argyll's* Power and Authority amongst the Highlanders rendered him formidable to his Peers and Neighbours, and so conducted much both to raise and foment the whole Rebellion : For as soon as any one adventured to oppose the Covenanters, or dispute their Commands, presently *Argyll* gathering a tumultuous Army of Five or Six Thousand Highlanders (who, for all that, served him against their wills) crush't him to pieces, and therefore he had all the reason in the World to bring down the Power of so Seditious, Covetous, and Cruel a Man. Moreover, those Highlanders who did not only favour the King's Cause,

but hated Argyll heartily, as having had sufficient experience of his Tyranny, durst not appear as they would till he was first subdued. And lastly, the Low-lands of the Kingdom were maintained by the Covenanters with strong Garrisons, and great bodies of Horse: so that except he had a mind utterly to undo his friends, he had no other place to winter his Souldiers in but that. And being pressed with these reasons, with long and foul Journeys, and incredible speed he cometh in to Argyll.

The Earl at that time was lifting Souldiers in his Country and had appointed the Day and Place for a Rendezvous. He lived securely in the Castle of *Imerara*, supposing no Enemy to be within a Hundred Miles of him, For he could never before be brought to believe that an Army could get into *Argyll* on Foot in the midst of Summer, and many times heretofore he has been heard to bragg, that he had rather lose a Hundred Thousand Crowns, than any mortal Man should know the way by which an Army could enter into his Country. When he therefore suspected nothing less, the trembling Cow-Herds came down from the Hills, and told him the Enemy was within Two Miles. He not knowing what to do, and almost besides himself for fear, at last commits himself to a Fisher-Boat, and flies away, leaving his Friends and Servants, and the whole Country to their Fortunes, and the Mercy of an Enemy. It is a Rough and Mountainous Country, barren of Corn, for little or none is sown there, but very commodious for Pasture, the chief Riches of the Inhabitants consisting in Cattle. *Montrose* divides his Army into three Brigads, and sends them about the Country; one Brigade was commanded by the Chief of the *M'Renalds*, another by *M'Donald*, and the third by himself. They range about all the Country, and lay it waste; as many as they find in Arms going to the Rendezvous appointed by their Lord they slay, and spare no Man that was fit for War: nor do they give over till they had driven all serviceable Men out of that Territory, or at least into Holes known to none but themselves, Then they fire the Villages and Cotes, and lay them level with the Ground: in that retaliating *Argyll* with the same measure he had metted unto others, who was the first in all the Kingdom that persecuted his Country-men with Fire and Sword. Lastly, they drove their Cattle. Nor did they deal more gently

with others, who lived in *Lorn*, and the neighbour parts, that acknowledged *Argyll's* Power. These things lasted from the 13th of *December* 1644, to the 28 or 29 of *January* following.

And indeed, he used never more to acknowledge the singular Providence and Fatherly Mercy of Almighty God, than in bringing him and his Men safe out of those places; for if but Two Hundred Souldiers had handsomely kept those Passes, they might easily either have cut off, or at least driven back all his Force. Besides, if the Cow-Herds had but driven away their Cattle (which they might easily have done) in those barren Placs he must have starved for hunger. Or *Thirdly*, If it had been a sharp and stormy Winter, (and it seldom chances to be otherwise there) they had either been drowned in Snow-drifts, or starv'd and benumb'd with cold. But the Merciful God took away both Courage from the Enemy, and its ordinary Temper from the Air ; and supplied their want of Bread with great abundance of Flesh. At length departing out of *Argyll*, and passing through *Lorn*, *Glenco* and *Aber*, he came to *Loch-Nefs*. And now he expected that all the *Highlanders* being either frighted with the example of *Argyll*, or freed from the fear of him, should be ready to assist the King's most righteous Cause, and vindicate it with their Arms against the Rebels.

But now lest *Montrose's* Heroical Spirit should ever want matter to work upon, he is advertised that the Earl of *Seaforth*, a very powerful Man in those parts (and one of whom he had entertained a better Opinion) with the Garrison of *Inverness* which were old Souldiers, and the whole strength of *Murray*, *Ross*, *Sutherland*, *Cathnes*, and the Sept of the *Frazers*, were ready to meet him with a desperate Army of Five thousand Horse and Foot. *Montrose* had only Fifteen Hundred, for those of *Clanrenald*, and most of the *Athol*-men suspecting no such need of them, and being laden with the spoils of *Argyll*, had got leave to go home, on Condition they should return when they were sent for. But for all that, *Montrose* was not afraid to give Battle to that disorderly Army : for although he knew those of the Garrison to be old Souldiers, yet he accounted of the rest of the Multitude (which were newly raised out of Husband-

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men, Cow-herds, Pedees, Tavern boys, and Kitchin-boys) to be altogether raw and unserviceable.

And now while he thought of nothing but fighting these, a trusty Messenger overtakes him, and informs him, *That Argyll having gathered forces out of the lower Parts of the Kingdom, and joined unto them such Highlanders as yet adhered unto him, had come down into Aber with Three thousand Foot, and stay'd at an old Castle called Innerlochy, upon the Bank of Loch-Aber.* Montrose, who well understood the crafty and cowardly Disposition of Argyll, by that had a good Guess at his Design; which was to follow after him at a good Distance, that he might be first engaged with those Northern Men, and then to make his own Advantage of the Event of that Battle; but by no Means to fight himself, if he could help it. Therefore Montrose considered, that it would be a Matter of great Concernment, and of less Danger, to let Men see that Argyll was not invincible, even in the Highlands, where he was adored by the simple People, like some great-little God: And as for the Northern Army, he conceived that upon the Report of a Victory obtained against Argyll, it would moulder away, and easily be brought into Order, Montrose was thirty Miles distant from Innerlochy, neither would he go the high Way thither (though he placed Guards in it, lest the Enemy should have any Intelligence of his moving) but streight over Loch-Aber Hills, in untrodden Paths, and only known to Cow-herds and Hunt-men, (for in those Mountains there are great Herds of Deer) by a Way that never Man led an Army before; and killing their Scouts, was upon the Back of the Enemy ere he was aware. They being but little afrighted with so unexpected an Accident, run to their Arms, and immediately prepare themselves for Battle. When Montrose perceived them to be in a Posture so quickly, he stood still a little while, till his Rear, being tired with so hard a March, could come up unto his Front. It was Night, but the Moon shone so clearly, that it was almost as light as Day: All Night they stood to their Arms, and making frequent Sallies & Skirmishes one with another, neither gave the other Leave to rest or retreat. All others earnestly expected Day, only Argyll being more advised than the rest, conveyed himself away at dead of the Night; and this second Time taking Boat, saved himself from the Peril of Battle, as if he intended

tended to be Umpire between the two Armies, and being himself out of Gun-shot, stand Spectator of other Men's Valour, and well too. At the Break of Day, *Montrose* ordered his Men as he intended to fight, and the Enemy were as forward to do the like. For they did not yet think that *Montrose* was there (as some Prisoners afterwards confessed) but some Colonel or Captain of his, with a Party only of his Forces.

When the Sun was up, on the second of *February* (which is *Candlemas Day*) a Trumpet sounding, struck no small Terror into the Enemy. For beside that a Trumpet shewed they had Horse with them, and therefore was a Sound with which those Parts were little acquainted, it discovered also that *Montrose* himself was there. Nevertheless, the Prime of the *Campbells* (that's the Sirname of *Argyll's* Family) being gallant Men and Stout, and deserving to fight under a better Chieftain in a better Cause, cheerfully begin the Battle. But their Souldiers that were in the Front, having only once discharged their Muskets, and *Montrose's* Men pressing on fiercely to come to the Dint of the Sword, began to run. Whom they, raising a great Shout, so eagerly pursued, that as it were at one Assault, they routed them all; and had the killing of them with a most horrible Slaughter for nine Miles together. Of the Enemy were slain Fifteen hundred, among whom were very many Gentlemen of the *Campbells*, who were chief Men of the Family, and of good Account in their Country, who fighting but too valiantly for their Chistian, had Deaths answerable to their Names, and fell *in Campo Belli*, in the Field of War, [*I cannot say in the Bed of Honour.*] Their Fortune *Montrose* extremely lamented, and saved as many of them as he was able, taking them into his Protection; while *Argyll* himself being gotten into a Boat, and rowed a little Way off the Shore, securely look'd on, while his Kindred and Souldiers were knock'd in the Head. Some Colonels and Captains that *Argyll* had brought thither out of the *Low-lands*, fled into the Castle; whom, when the Castle was surrendred, and Quarters given unto them, *Montrose* used courteously, and after he had done them several good Offices of Humanity and Charity, freely let them depart. In this Fight *Montrose* had many wounded, but none slain saving three private Souldiers: But the Joy of this great Victory was much abated

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bated by the Wounds of that truly Honourable Sir *Thomas Ogilvie*, Son to the Earl of *Airly*, of which, after a few Days, he died. He was one of *Montrose's* dearest Friends; one who had done very good Service for the King in *England*, under the Command of his Father in Law the Lord *Ruthven* Earl of *Forth* and *Brentford*, (a Man known all the World over for his Noble Atchievements.) Nor was he less a Scholar than a Souldier, being a new Ornament to the Family of the *Ogilvies*, whose Honourable Death-wounds for his King and Country had no small Influence upon that Day's Victory. *Montrose* being very much afflicted with the Loss of him, caused his Body to be carried into *Athol*, where he was interred with as sumptuous a Funeral as that Place and those Times could afford. But the Power of the *Campbells* in the *Highlands*, which for these many Ages past hath been formidable to their Neighbours, was by this Overthrow clearly broken to Pieces; and by it also a Way opened unto *Montrose* to do his Business the more easily thenceforward. For the *Highlanders* being warlike Men, and let loose from the hated Tyranny of *Argyll*, now began to offer themselves willingly unto the King's Service.

C H A P. IX.

THE Souldiers, who were almost spent with this fore Travel, having refreshed themselves for a few Days, *Montrose* marching over again *Loch-Aber* Hills returneth to *Loch-ness*. And from thence viewing by the Way the Coasts of *Harrick*, *Earn* and *Nairn*, came to the River of *Spey*. Here he is told, That there was no small Party of the Enemy at *Elgin*, (which is the chief Town of *Murray*, a Country beyond the *Spey*.) *Montrose* hies towards these, either to draw them to his Side, or to suppress them: But the very Report of his advancing blew away that Cloud; for they in great Amazement shifted for themselves every one whether he could. *Montrose* nevertheless goes on his March, and takes in *Elgin* by Surrender on the 14th Day of *February*. At which Time the Lord *Gordon*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Huntly*, (a man who can never be sufficiently commended

ded for his excellent endowments) came off openly to the Kings side (from his Uncle by whom he had been detained against his will) and, with not many but very choice Friends and Clients, voluntarily did his Duty, and offered his Service to *Montrose* as the King's Deputy and Vicegerent. *Montrose* first welcomed him with all Civility, and gave him many thanks ; afterwards when he came to understand him more inwardly, joyned him unto himself in the entirest bonds of Friendship and Affection. Now because the Inhabitants of *Murray* were extreemly addicted to the Covenanters, they hid themselves in their lurking Places, nor were any supplies to be expected from Men so maliciously disposed ; Therefore he drew his Forces to this side the *Spey*, to raise the Countries of *Banff* and *Aberdeen*, by the Presence, Example and Authority of the Lord *Gordon*. So having got together what Forces he could in those Places, with Two Thousand Foot and Two Hundred Horse, passing the River of *Dee* he came into *Mearns*, and encamped not far from *Fettercarn*.

At *Brechin*, some seven Miles from thence, Sir *John Hurray*, a stout Man and an active, and famous also in foreign Parts for Military exploits, being General of the Horse, for the Covenanters, had the Command over the whole Forces there. He came out with Six Hundred Horse to discover the strength of *Montrose* : he conceived *Montrose* had but few Foot and no Horse, and if he should but descend into the plain, he made account to make short work with him ; and howsoever it should happen, he made no Question but to secure himself. *Montrose* to draw him on, hid the rest of his Men in a Bottom, and made shew only of his Two Hundred Horse, but lined them (as he used) with his nimblest Musquetiers. Which Horse when *Hurray* saw, and observed they were so few, he drew up his Men and charged. But when he perceived (too late) the Foot that ran close after *Montrose's* Horse, he founded a Retreat, and *Hurray* himself turning his Men behaved himself stoutly in the Rear. When they turned their backs *Montrose's* Souldiers drive on, let fly, and lay about them, until being got over the River of *Esk*, the Enemy scarce safe under the Protection of Night, betook themselves to shelter ; nor did they think themselves secure till after a Race of Four & Twenty Miles

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Miles long they came to *Dundee*. Then they that had pur-
 sued them so far, returned to *Fettercarn*, and thence the next
 Day to *Brechin*. Here *Montrose* understood, that *Bailly*, a
 Commander of great Account had been fetch'd out of *Eng-
 land*, to be General of the Enemies Forces ; that *Hurrey* with
 his Horfe was joined unto him, and that they had in their
 Army many old Soldiers brought back out of *England* and
Ireland : So that now the Covenanters going about their
 Business in so great Sadness, *Montrose* must expect not only
 other Kind of Soldiers, but also most expert Commanders
 to deal with.

Therefore, lest he should chance to be hemm'd in with
 their Horfe (in which their chief Strength lay) he chuseth
 his most convenient Way by the Foot of *Grainsbain* towards the
 River of *Tay*, intending also if it were possible to get over
 the *Forth*, where he believed the King could not want
 Assistance. Which design of his was not unknown to the E-
 nemy : Therefore they send these Commanders against him
 with a powerful Army ; who no sooner came in Sight, than
Montrose offered them Battle. But they intended nothing
 less than to try it out with him that way, nor would ad-
 venture so much as but to fall upon the Rear of *Montrose* as
 he marched off. So he went to the Castle of *Inncarvity*,
 and the next day to a Village called *Eliot*. And here again,
 leaving the Mountains behind him, he descends into the
 Plain, and by a Trumpet sends a Challenge unto *Bailly* to
 fight. Between their two Armies ran the River *Ile*, which
 neither could safely pass over without the others Consent.
Montrose therefore desires *Bailly* to give him Leave safely to
 come over to that Side ; which Motion if *Bailly* should not
 like of, he offered him safe and free Passage, on Condi-
 tion, that he would engage his Honour to fight without further
 Delay. *Bailly* answered, he would look to his own Business
 himself, and would not have other Men teach him when to
 fight. Thus the two Armies fac'd one another many
 Days, neither the Enemy endeavouring to pass their Forces
 over the River against *Montrose*, nor he hoping to make
 good his Pass unto them, by Reason of his Scarcity of Horfe.
 Marching therefore unto *Dunkeld*, he thought to pass the
Tay, at which Time by a sudden and unexpected Mischief,
 he was almost utterly ruin'd. It was thus, *Lewis Gordon* Son to
 the Marquis of *Huntly* who had born Arms against *Montrose*

in the Battle of *Aberdeen*, by the Mediation of his Noble Brother the Lord *Gordon*, had been received into Favour. He either by true or counterfeit Letters from the old Fox in the hole, his Father, tempted and carried away with him almost all the *Gordons* without the Knowledge of his Brother; and basely deserted *Montrose* and him, when they were ready to be engaged with the Enemy. And truly it is hard to say, To whether of both, he bore less Good-will.

Montrose being sore afflicted with his unexpected Revolt, although he was of necessity to return into the *North* to gather new Forces; yet made, as if nevertheless he went straight towards the *Forth*; and his Scouts came all with full cry, That all the Enemy were got over the *Tay*, that by taking the Fords of the *Forth* they might hinder his Passage. He, lest he should seem all this while to have done nothing, thought it well worth his Labour, if by the way he could take in *Dundee*, a most seditious Town; for that being the securest Haunt and Receptacle of the Rebels in those Parts, and a Place that had contributed as much as any other towards the Rebellion, was kept by no other Garrison but of the Towns-men. He therefore commanded the weakest and worst armed Men to go along by the Bottom of the Hills, and to meet him at *Brechin*. And he taking with him what Horse he had (which were but One hundred and fifty in all) and Six hundred nimble Musqueteers, departing from *Dunkeld* about Twelve of the clock in the Night, made so great haste that he came to *Dundee* by Ten of the Clock in the Morning on the 4th Day of *April*. He summons the Towns-men to deliver the Town to the King, which was the only Way to preserve their own Lives and its Safety. If they would not, they must expect Fire and Sword. They began to make Delays, and first to give no Answer at all, afterward to commit the Trumpet to Prison. Which Affront provoked *Montrose* so highly, that he stormed the Town in three Places at once. The Towns-men stood out a while and maintained their Works; but they had as good have done nothing; for the *Irish* and *Highlanders* would take no Repulse, but with a resolute Assault, some beat them out of their Sconces, and possessing themselves of their Ordnance, turned it against the Town: Others beat open the Gates, and possessed themselves

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selves of the Church and Market-place ; and others set the Town on Fire in several Places. And indeed, had not the common Soldiers by an unseasonable Avarice and Intemperance addicted themselves to pillage, that rich Town had been immediately all on Fire. But as it happened, it was better both for the Conquerors and Conquered, that it was not: For all the Intelligence that the Scouts had brought in concerning the Enemies coming over the Tay, was absolutely false. It may be, they saw a few Troops (and many they did not see) pass over it, which they believed to have been the whole Body of the Enemy, and by that means were like to have undone both themselves and the whole Party.

Montrose stood upon the Top of a Hill close unto *Dundee* looking upon this Skirmish, when his almost breathless Scouts brought him News, that *Bailly* and *Hurvey* with Three thousand Foot, and Eight hundred Horse were scarce a Mile off. He immediatly calls his Men out of the Town, which he had much to do to perswade them ; for the Soldiers counting themselves secure of the Victory, and thinking they had done a good Day's-work already, and besides, being a little heated in Drink, and much taken with so Rich a Booty, could hardly be brought to leave the Town they had so newly taken. And truly before they could be beaten off from the Spoil, the Enemy was come within Musquet-Shot of them. And now (as it uses to happen in great Dangers) *Montrose's* Council of War were of different Opinions ; some perswaded that *Montrose* should shift for himself with the Horse he had, because they conceived it not possible that he should be able to bring off the Foot, who had been wearied with a March of above Twenty Miles in the Morning, after that were spent in a hot Fight at Noon, and now were over-loaden either with Drink or Prey ; especially seeing he was to march Twenty or perhaps Thirty Miles from *Dundee* before they could rest in Safety. That this was the Fortune of War, and to be patiently undergone, especially since he had given oft-times far greater Overthrows to the Enemy, than this could be to him. That there was no doubt, but, that as long as he was safe, his Forces might be easily recruited ; and on the other side, if he miscarried, the Case was desperate, and they were utterly undone. Others cried out, That all was lost already

ready, and there was nothing left them, but to die with Honour; and therefore if charging courageously, they should break in amongst the thickest of the Enemy, no one could say, but that they fell gallantly. *Montrose* concurred with neither of these; for he could never be brought to forsake so good Men as he had in the extremest Danger, and preferred an honourable Death amongst his Soldiers before dishonourable Safety. But for all that, for Men that were so much out-numbered by them to run desperately upon the Enemy, and as it were to dash out their own Brains against the Stones, was the very last Refuge, and not hastily to be made use of: Therefore as we ought not to tempt Almighty God by our own Cowardice and Negligence; so neither ought any valiant Man or good Christian despair of his Assistance in a good Cause. Lastly, He exhorts every one to do his own Part, and refer the Success to God, and other things to his own Care and Industry.

Immediately he sends out Four hundred Foot before him, and commands them, That as much as they possibly could, without breaking their Ranks, they should make all Speed. Then he appoints Two hundred of the activest Men he had to follow them; and he with his Horse brings up the Rear. The Horse trooped on in so open Order, that if Occasion, were, they might have Room enough to receive light Musqueteers. He believed the Enemies Foot were not able to overtake them; and if their Horse only should charge them (which they would hardly adventure to do) he conceived it was no Matter of extreme Difficulty to make their Part good against them: Besides, the Sun was ready to set, and the Darknes of the Night would be commodious for their Retreat. The Enemy understanding the Number of them that went away, first by some Prisoners they had taken, and after that by their own View: As soon as they saw, they were disposed rather for a Journey than a Battle, divide their Forces into Two Parts and so pursue them. Wherein their Intention was not only to fall upon their Rear and Flank at once, but also to secure against them all Passages up to the *Highlands*: And their Commanders the more to encourage their Soldiers to a hot Pursuit, proposed Twenty thousand Crowns to any one that could bring in *Montrose's* Head. And now the Van of the Enemies Horse came close up unto the Retreaters, whereupon

whereupon those good Musqueteers that lined *Montrose's* Horse, welcomed one another, and a third of the forwardest of them with Bullets in their Sides : With whose Mischance, the rest becoming more wary, abated of the Eagerness of their Pursuit. And *Montrose's* Soldiers, when they saw they had been too hard for the Enemies Foot at a March, and had got before them, taking Heart and Courage, they skirmished stoutly with their Horse, until the Night parted the Quarrel. And to rid themselves some way of the Enemy, took their Way East-ward many Miles by the Sea-coast. However, that was not their Way, but to go North-ward toward *Gransbain*, and so to deliver themselves from their mischievous Horse. But *Baillie* had laid the greatest Part of his Army between them and *Gransbain*, that there might be no Place for them to retreat unto.

Therefore at the Dead of the Night, when they were not far from *Aberbroth*, *Montrose* commands his Men to make a Stand a while. And long they stood not, before he considering with himself, that all Ways and Passages straight into the Mountains might be laid by the Enemies Horse (and he was not mistaken,) commands them to face about, and march South-west. And by this Art (though with intolerable Pains) he beguiled the Pursuers, whom that same Night he passed by ; and then turning North-ward, by the next Morning at Sun-rising passed over *Southesk*, at a Place not far from *Careston* Castle, and from thence sent to *Brechin*, to fetch those Men which he had there with the Carriages. But there was no need of this ; for they, upon the Report of this Expedition, had provided for themselves better and more timely, and had taken the Mountains. While he staid at *Carestoun*, the Scouts brought him Word on a sudden, that the Enemies Horse were in Sight, and their Foot being refresh'd with Victuals and Sleep, march'd after them apace. *Montrose* himself being now within three Miles of the Mountains, was not much afraid of them ; but his Soldiers, who had not slept for three Days and two Nights, but had all that while been either on their March, or in Fight, were overcome with so dead Sleep, that they could hardly be raised without Pricks and Wounds. The Enemy being at last entertained with a light Skirmish, suffered *Montrose* to possess himself of the Bottom of the Mountains ; and

and having done nothing to the Purpose, retreated from their vain Pursuit. So he and his Men came to *Glenesk*.

And this was that so much talk'd of Expedition of *Dundee*, infamous indeed for the Mistake of the Scouts, but as renowned as any for the Valour, Constancy, and undaunted Resolution of the General ; and even admirable for the Hardiness of the Soldiers, in encountering all Extremities with Patience : For, for threescore Miles together, they had been often in Fight, always upon their March, without either Meat or Sleep, or the least Refreshment : Which, whether foreign Nations, or after Times will believe, I cannot tell ; but I am sure I deliver nothing but what is most certain of mine own Knowledge. And truly amongst expert Soldiers, and those of eminent Note both of *England*, *Germany*, and *France*, I have not seldom heard this Expedition of *Montrose's* preferred to his greatest Victories.

CHAP. X.

AND now being safe beyond Expectation, *Montrose* bids the Soldiers take their Rest, whilst he determines thus of the whole Affair of the War. He sends the Lord *Gordon*, together with those that had continued loyal and dutiful after the Revolt of his Brother *Lewis* into their own Country, both that they might recal those whom his Brother had seduced away, and recruit themselves by levying new Forces ; which he cheerfully and courageously performed. And though he spared none, yet he was most severe with those that had been Authors or Accessaries to his Brother's Defection : And he was the more active in that Business, that he might acquit himself of any Suspicion. Nor indeed did *Montrose* himself, or any other more detest that Villainy of *Lewis Gordon*, than that Noble Lord his Brother. As for *Montrose*, he with a small Party (for he kept but Five hundred Foot, and fifty Horse with him) marches through *Angus* into *Perib-shire*, that he might distract the Enemy, till such Time as he made up his Army with Re-

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recruits from every Side. Neither was he out in his Aim;
 for the Covenanters had sent *Hurrey* the Lieutenant General
 of the Horse with a Command into the North, of a Party
 of Six hundred old Foot, and Two hundred Horse, that he
 might strengthen their own Side, and suppress the Lord
Gordon: And *Baillie* himself staid with an Army at *Perth*,
 as in the very Heart of the Kingdom, ready to wait upon
 all Motions. *Montrose* was twelve Miles off at a Village
 called *Crief*, where *Baillie* understood he quartered securely
 with a small Party: Who being Diligent upon all Occasions,
 set out from *Perth* at the Beginning of the Night with all
 his Army, that by a speedy March, he might at break of
 Day fall unexpected into *Montrose's* Quarters. But he found
Montrose careful enough of his Business, and his Foot ready
 in Arms either to march or fight; but he with his Horse
 came up towards the Enemy to discover their Number and
 Strength. And when he found them to be Two thousand
 Foot, and Five hundred Horse, he commanded his Men to
 march speedily away, and following the Course of the
 River *Ern*, to make good the Fords thereof: He with the
 few Horse that he had was their Rear-Guard, lest they
 should have been trodden in Pieces by the Enemies Ca-
 valry. And truly he so valiantly repulsed the fierce Assault
 of the Enemy, that by killing some, and routing others,
 he forced them to a Retreat, till at last his Foot, after six
 Miles March, had made themselves Masters of the Pass of
Ern. So the Enemy retreated with the Loss of their Labour.
 And *Montrose* that same Night, being the 18th of *April*,
 quartered at *Loch-Ern*, and came the next Day to *Bal-
 widdir*, where the Earl of *Aboin* met him, who, with some
 few more, had escaped out of *Carlisle*, and hearing Tidings
 of *Montrose's* good Success, had at last returned into his
 Country.

Leaving *Balwiddir*, they advanced to *Logh-Catrinet*, where
 they receive Intelligence that *Hurrey* had raised great Forces
 in the North, and was ready to engage with the Lord *Ger-
 don*; therefore there was Danger, that he, being an active
 Soldier and a good Commander, should be able to over-
 master that gallant young Gentleman. Therefore *Montrose*
 thought it necessary to oppose *Hurrey* as soon as was possible,
 as well to secure so dear a Friend from imminent Danger,
 as to be nibbling at the Enemies Forces as he found them
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afunder, and to cut off that Power by Piece-meal which he well knew if it were all in a Body, would be above his Match. Therefore by long and continued Journies passing by *Balawiddir*, and a Lake of Four and Twenty Miles long, out of which the River of *Tay* breaks forth, through *Atbol* and *Angus*, and over *Grainsbain*, through a Valley called *Glenmuck*. he came to the midst of *Mar*. There he joyned with the Lord *Gordon*, who had now a Thousand Foot and Two hundred Horse, and marching straight to the *Spey*, laboured to find out and engage with the Enemy. Nor was he above Six Miles off, when *Hurrey* thought he had not yet got over *Grainsbain*; for with unwearied labour and incredible Speed he had out-run the very Report of himself. *Hurrey*, lest a Battle should be forced upon him whether he would or no, before he had received an Addition of numerous Auxiliaries, in all haste passeth over the *Spey*. And because he had appointed the Rendevouz of all his Friends at *Inverness*, hyeth to *Elgin*; nor did *Montrose* pursue him lazily to *Elgin*. Thence with all Speed he passeth to *Forress*, nor did *Montrose* make less Haste to follow and overtake him too at *Forress*, and sat so close on his Skirts for 14 Miles together, that notwithstanding he had the Advantage of the Night, he had much ado to reach *Inverness*.

The next Day *Montrose* encamped at a Village called *Alderne*: And *Hurrey*, according to his Hopes, found the Earls of *Seaforth* and *Sutherland*, the whole Clan of the *Frasers*, and most of *Murray* and *Cathness*, and the neighbouring Parts to have assembled themselves to *Inverness*, well appointed. To these, *Hurrey* adds some old Soldiers of the Garison of that Town, and so draws up against *Montrose*. He now commanded Three thousand and five hundred Foot, and Four hundred Horse; but *Montrose* (who had no more but Fifteen hundred Foot and Two hundred Horse) had a great mind to retire. But not only *Hurrey* pressed so vehemently upon him, that it was scarce possible for him to retreat, but *Bailly* also, with a Southern Army, much stronger than *Hurrey's* (especially in Horse) was now got already a great Way on that Side *Grainsbain*, and marched in great Hast towards the *Spey*. What should *Montrose* do in this Condition? He must of Necessity either give *Hurrey* Battle, or undergo a far greater Hazard of being

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hemm'd in between two Armies. Therefore he resolves to try the Fortune of War without Delay, to commit the Success unto God, and choosing the best Advantage of Ground he could find, there to expect the Assault of the Enemy. There was a little Town that stood upon the Height, which shadowed the neighbouring Valley; and some little Hills that were higher than the Town behind it, that hindred the Discovery of any one, till they were just upon him. In this Valley he draws up his Forces out of the View of the Enemy. Before the Town he places a few, but expert and choice Foot with his Ordnance, who were sheltered with such Ditches, as they found there. The right Wing he commits to *Alexander M'donald*, with Four hundred Foot, and lodged them in the Places fortified to their Hand with Banks and Ditches, with Shrubs also and great Stones, and commands him to preserve himself intire, that he might be a Reserve upon all Occasions, and not to depart from his Station, which had so good a natural Fence, that the might ly there safe enough, not only from the Enemies Horse, but Foot also. And with the same good Advice, he committed to his Charge, that notable Standard of the King's, which only he was wont to carry before him, expecting that the Enemy, upon the Sight of that, would order the best of their Forces against that Wing, which, by reason of the Disadvantage of the Place, would be rendred wholly unuseful unto them, till such Time as he on the left Flank should take his Advantage against them: And to that End, drawing the rest of his Forces to the other Side, he commends the Horse to the Lord *Gordon*, and takes Charge of the Foot himself. Those few that stood before the Town, under the Shelter and Cover of the Banks and Ditches, seemed as if they were his main Battle, whereas indeed he had none; and for Reserves, in that Scarcity of Men, they were not to be thought of.

The Enemy (as *Montrose* most wisely foresaw) as soon as they saw the King's Standard, ordered the most Part of their Horse and old Soldiers (wherein their chief Strength consisted) against that. And by this Time, the Van of the Enemy began to dispute it with those before the Town, and on the right Flank; and still as their Soldiers were spent, drew up fresh Men; which *Montrose*, because his Number was but few, could not so easily do: Therefore

he resolved, with all his Men that he had on the left Flank, to make a violent Assault upon the Enemy at once; and while he was thinking so to do, there comes unto him, one whom he knew to be trusty and discreet, and whispers him in the Ear, That *M'Donald*, with his Men on the right Flank, were put to Flight. He being a Man of a quick Spirit, thought it was best to forestall the Soldiers, lest their Hearts should fail them upon bad News, and cries aloud to the Lord Gordon, *My Lord, what do we do?* *M'Donald upon the right Hand having routed and discomfited the Enemy, is upon the Execution. Shall we stand by as idle Spectators, whilst he carries away the Honour of the Day?* And with that, he commands them to Charge. *Hurrey's* Horse had no Mind long to endure the Shock of the *Gordons*; but wheeling about, and beginning to run, left their Flanks, which they were to maintain, open to their Enemies. Their Foot, although thus deserted by their Horse, being both more in Number, and better armed than *Montrose's* Men, stood out very stoutly, as long as his Men kept aloof; but as soon as he came to fall upon them Hand to Hand, he drove them to throw away their Arms, and to seek, tho' to little Purpose, to save themselves by their Heels: But *Montrose* himself not forgetting what was signified unto him by so faithful a Messenger, drew off with a few of his readiest Men, to the right Flank, where he found Things in a far other Condition than they were left.

For *M'Donald* being a valiant Man, but better at his Hands than Head (being over hasty in Battle, and bold even to Rashness) disdaining to shelter himself behind Hedges and Shrubs, whilst the Enemy vapoured and provoked him with ill Language; contrary to Orders, upon his own Head, advanceth towards the Enemy, out of that most defensible Fastness and Station wherein he was placed; and he did it to his Cost: For the Enemy overpowering him both in Horse and Foot, and having many old Soldiers amongst them, routed and repulsed his Men. And certainly, if he had not timely drawn them off into a Close hard by, they had every one of them, together with the King's Standard, been lost. But he made Amends for that rash Mistake in his admirable Courage in bringing off his Men, for he was the last Man that came off; and covering his Body with a great Target, which he carried in his

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left Hand, defended himself against the thickest of his Enemies. Those that came closest up to him were Pike-Men, who with many a Blow had struck their Spear-heads into his Target, which he cut off by Three or Four at once with his Sword, which he managed with his right Hand. And those that made him any Opposition in the Close, seeing *Montrose* come in to his Aid, and their own Men on the other side put to Flight, such as were Horse, spurr'd away, and the Foot (most of which were old Soldiers out of *Ireland*) fighting desperately, were almost all of them slain upon the Ground. The Conquerors pursued them that fled for some Miles; so that there were slain about Three thousand Foot of the Enemy, amongst whom, their old Soldiers fought most stoutly; but almost all their Horse escaped by a more timely than honourable Flight.

Nor had *Hurrey* himself with some of their best Men which went last off the Field, escaped the Hands of the Pursuers, had not the Earl of *Aboin*, by I know not what Negligence, displayed some Ensigns and Standards that had been taken from the Enemy; and himself not following the Chase, but turning toward his own Party, seemed to have been the Enemy, and to threaten a new Battle. With which Mistake they were so long deluded, until the Enemies Horse, though much disordered, had shifted themselves away into such By-paths as they knew or could light upon; Only a few of them came with *Hurrey* before next Morning to *Inverness*. Of such of the Enemy as were slain, the most notable were *Campbell Laver*, a Colonel of old Soldiers, Sir *John* and Sir *Gideon Murray*, Knights, and other stout Men, and perhaps not unworthy to be lamented, had they not stained their otherwise commendable Valour with the horrid Crime of Rebellion: Nor in that did they so much follow their own Judgments, as the Humour of the Times, or the Ambition, or Avarice of their Chiefs. *Montrose*, of those that served with him on the left Flank, missed only one Man, and him a private Soldier; and on that side where *M'Donald* commanded, there were missing Fourteen private Soldiers also: But he had many more wounded, the curing and securing of whom was especially provided for by *Montrose*. Afterwards entertaining the Prisoners with Sweetness and Courtesy, he promised all such as

repented of their Error, Liberty or Employment, and was as good as his Word : And such as were obstinate in their Rebellion, he disposed of into several Prisons. In this Battle at *Alderne*, the Valour of young *Napier* did very much discover it self, who being the Son of the Lord *Napier* of *Marchistoun*, and *Montrose's* Nephew by his Sister, had but a litle before, without the Knowledge of his Father, or Wife, stoln away from *Edinburgh* to his Uncle, and did at this Time give an excellent Essay of his Valour, and laid down most firm Principles of a most noble Disposition. Whereupon the Chief of the Covenanters took his Father, a Man almost Threescore and ten Years old (and as good a Man as ever *Scotland* bred in this Age,) and his Wife, the Daughter of the Earl of *Mar*, Sir *Sterling* of *Kier* his Brother in law (an excellent Man also, Chief of his Family and one that suffered very much for his Loyalty) together with his Two Sisters, the one Sir *Sterling's* most virtuous Lady, the other a Virgin, and cast them all into the Dungeon ; from whence afterward, they were to be delivered by *Napier* himself with the Assistance of his Uncle. This Battle was fought at *Alderne* on the 4th of *May*, 1645.

C H A P. X I.

M*ontrose* allowing a few Days of Refreshment to his Soldiers, marched to *Elgin* which is the chief Town of the Province ; where, for the sake of those that were wounded, he made some longer Stay, because they had there the Accommodation of good Chyrurgeons and Medicines, which are sometimes scarce to be had in the Field. Afterward passing over the *Spey*, he came to *Keith*, from thence to *Frendraught*, and so to *Strathbogy*. Here *Bailly* meets him (unto whom *Hurrey* with those that remained of his broken Troops at *Alderne*, was joined) and provokes him to Battle. *Montrose* kept back his Men, who were spent with great Travel, and were far fewer both in Horse and Foot, though very eager to fight, till such Time as he had raised new Forces, and recruited them. Therefore think-

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ing it enough to maintain that Ground which he had chosen as commodiously as he could for himself, until Night, passeth then to *Balvenie*, whither also the Enemy followeth him: But he passing by *Strath-Don* and *Strath-Spey*, went up to *Badenoch*. The Enemy getting to the other Side of the Water, provokes him again to fight; but in vain: For he was very wary in giving them a set Battle. But nevertheless, by frequent Skirmishes, especially beating up Quarters in the Night, did so much weaken their Power and Courage, That, they that were so haughtily daring but a While ago, as well Commanders as Soldiers, hastily and disorderly betook themselves by Night to *Inverness*, when none pursued them. *Montrose* was not much displeased that he was so rid of this Enemy, especially for this Reason; The Earl of *Lindsay*, the prime Ringleader of the Covenanters, next unto *Argyll*, and his Rival too, (as being Brother in Law to Duke *Hamilton*) used to give out, That *Argyll* wanted either Care or Courage; and howsoever it came to pass, was still unfortunate: And therefore he took upon himself the Command of that Army which was newly raised, as if he would essay to manage the Business with better Conduct. And now he had passed over with his Forces into *Angus*, intending to be a Reserve unto *Baillie*; and if any Thing should happen otherwise than well, at the worst, he was ready to hinder *Montrose's* Passage over *Forth*. For they were always very Jealous, lest *Montrose* should remove the Seat of War to this Side the *Forth*, and nearer *Edinburgh*: Therefore he resolved with all Speed to quell *Lindsay* (who lay yet in *Angus* at a Castle called *Newtile*) both because the General was no Soldier, and the Soldiers raw, and unacquainted with the Hardship of War.

In Pursuit of which Design, departing from *Badenoch*, he marcheth through the Plains of *Mar* over *Gransbain*, and came by long and painful Journeys unto the Coast of the River of *Airley*, intending to surprize the Enemy on a sudden, which was easie to be done; for he had made such Haste, that the News of his Approach was not so swift as himself. And now *Lindsay* was not above Seven Miles from him, and all Things were ready for an Assault, when (upon what Occasion it is uncertain) almost all the Northern Men privately ran away from their Colours; and going back the Way that they came, returned into their Country

Country. The Lord *Gordon* was in the Camp, and there was none there that detested that Villainy with greater Indignation than he, in so much, that *Montrose* had much ado to withhold him from putting such of the Fugitives to Death, as had any Dependence upon him. Some stick not to say, That these Men were inveigled away by the private Directions of his Father the Marquis of *Huntly*, to the Earl of *Aboin*, who, by Reason of his Sickness was absent. For it vexed *Huntly*, a haughty and envious Man, to hear of the Success of *Montrose*; nor could he endure that inward Friendship which was between his eldest Son and him. However it was, *Montrose* being cast down with this unexpected Misfortune, was forced to put off that Expedition against *Lindsay*, and to suffer patiently so great and easie a Victory to be taken out of his Hands.

Therefore, taking up new Resolutions, he followeth after Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, a Valiant Man and a Trustee, and wellbeloved in his Country, whom he had sent before. And by this Time *Baillie* and *Hurrey* had returned from *Inverness*, and quartered in lower *Mar* by the Side of *Dee*. And *Montrose* came by the Coast of *Eske*, and the Plains of *Mar*, into the Heart of that Country, commonly called *Cromar*. And whilst he passed through those Plains aforesaid, he dispatched *M'donald* with a Party into the furthest Part of the *Highlands*, to conduct such Forces, as were there raised, with all Speed unto the Army. Afterward he sent away the Lord *Gordon* himself, to hasten and promote that Levy of Men which *Nathaniel Gordon* was lifting, by all the Power and Interests he had in those Parts, which he most diligently performed, and amongst others, brought his Brother the Earl of *Aboin* back with him. Whilst these things passed in *Cromar*, *Lindsay* joins his Forces with *Baillie* in lower *Mar*: With whom *Montrose* finding himself unable to deal, (the most Part of his Forces being gone along with the Lord *Gordon* and *M'donald*) he stept aside to the ruined Castle of *Kargarf*, lest the Enemy should overpower him on the Champaign Grounds with their Multitudes both of Horse and Foot; but when he was close unto the Mountains he feared them not. From hence *Aboin* falling sick again, betook himself to *Strathbogy*; and upon Pretence of a Guard, carried along with him a considerable Number of Horse, whom his Brother, the Lord *Gordon* had much
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ado afterward to draw back to their Colours: In the mean Time, *Lindsay* took a Thousand old Soldiers from *Baillie*, and gave him as many raw and new rais'd Men for them; and as if he intended to do some famous Exploit, returning through *Merns* into *Angus*, with all the Pains he took, he did only this. He ranged with his Army up and down *Athole*; and after he had robbed and spoiled all the Country, he set it on Fire. In this, imitating *Argyll*, who was the first that in this Age introduced that cruel and dreadful Precedent of destroying Houses and Corn, being better at Fire than Sword, when they came into empty Fields and Towns unmann'd.

Baillie at that Time went to *Bogy*, to besiege the fairest Castle that belonged to the Marquis of *Huntly*, and indeed of all the *North*; and in Case he failed to take it in, to waste and fire all the Country of the *Gordons* thereabouts. *Montrose* (although *M'donald* was absent with a great Party) thought it necessary to relieve *Huntly* and his Friends, whom he laboured to assure unto himself by all good Offices, and hied thither. Where having Notice that *Baillie's* Soldiers, though not all; yet a great Part, were new rais'd Men (for he had parted with so many old Soldiers to *Lindsay*) desired nothing more, than without Delay to fight him, and marcheth straight towards him. He had not gone above three Miles, before he discovered the Enemies Scouts: He therefore sent before, some of his readiest Men that knew the Ways, to view the Strength, the Rendezvous, and the Order of the Enemy. They immediately bring Word, that the Foot stood on the Top of a hill, some two Miles off; and the Horse had possessed themselves of a narrow and troublesome Pass, which lay almost in the Middle between the two Armies, and were come on this Side it. Against them, *Montrose* sent such Horse as he had in a Readiness, with some nimble Firelocks, whom they first entertained with light Skirmishes afar off, and after retreated behind the Pass, which they had strongly mann'd with Musqueteers. *Montrose* sends for the Foot, that, if it were possible, they might dislodge the Enemy from thence; but it could not be done, for they were parted by the Fall of the Night, which both Sides passed over, walking, and in their Arms. The next Day *Montrose* sends a Trumpet to offer a set Battle; but *Baillie* answers, He could not receive Orders to fight from

from an Enemy. He therefore, seeing he could not drive the Enemy from those Passes without manifest Loss and Danger, that he might draw him out thence in some Time, marcheth off to *Pitlurg*, and from thence to a Castle of the Lord *Forbes's* called *Druminnor*, where he stay'd two Days. And at last, he understands the Enemy had quitted the Passes, and was marching towards *Strathbogy*; so he at Break of Day, sets forth towards a Village called *Alford*. But *Baillie*, when he had gotten certain notice that *M'donald* with a considerable Part of those Forces was absent in the *Highlands*, he voluntarily pursues *Montrose*, conceiving him to be stealing away, and about Noon began to face him. *Montrose* determines to wait for the Enemy (who, as seemed to him came towards him) upon the higher Ground: But *Baillie* turning aside some three Miles to the left Hand, *Montrose* holds on his intended March to *Alford*, where he staid that Night, the Enemy lying about four Miles off.

The next Day after, *Montrose* commands his Men very early in the Morning to stand to their Arms, and make ready to Battle, and placed them on a Hill that stands over *Alford*. And, as he with a Troop of Horse was observing the Motion and Order of the Enemy, and viewing the Fords of the *Don*, a River which runs by *Alford*, it was told him, that the Enemies Horse and Foot, were making unto a Ford which lay a Mile from *Alford*, to the intent, that they might cut off the Rear of their flying Enemy; for so those excellent Diviners prophesied to their own Destruction. *Montrose* leaving that Troop of Horse not far from the Ford, together with some select and understanding Men who should give him perfect Intelligence of all Things, he returneth alone to order the Battle. And above all Things, he possesses himself of *Alford-hill*, where he might receive the Charge of the Enemy, if they fell on desperately. Behind him, was a moorish Place full of Ditches and Pits, which would prevent Horse falling upon his Rear; before him, was a steep Hill which kept his Men from the Enemies View, so that they could hardly perceive the foremost Ranks. He had scarce given Order for the right managing of all Things, when those Horse whom he had left at the Ford, returned with a full Career, and bring Word, that the Enemy had passed the River. And

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new it was no more safe for either of them to retreat without the apparent Ruine of their Party. It is reported, that *Baillie*, like a skilful and wary Commander, was sore against his Will drawn unto this Battle; nor had engaged, had he not been necessitated unto it by the Rashness of the Lord *Balcarrass*, a Colonel of Horse, who precipitated himself, and the Horse under his Command, into that Danger, whether *Baillie* would or no, as that he could not be brought off without the Hazard of the whole Army.

Montrose gave the Command of his right Wing (on which Side the Enemies Horse were most strong) unto the Lord *Gordon*, and appointed *Nathaniel Gordon*, an old Commander, to his Assistance. The Command of the left Wing, was given to the Earl of *Aboin*, to whom also was joined Sir *William Rollock*; and of the main Battle, to two valiant Men, *Glengary*, and *Drummond of Ball*, the younger, unto whom he added *George Graham* Master of the Camp, an expert Soldier also. The Reserve, which was altogether hid behind the Hill, was commanded by his Nephew *Napier*; and for a while, *Montrose* kept himself upon the Height, and the Enemy in the Valley, being fortified with Pits and Ditches; for it was neither safe for the Latter to charge up the Hill, nor for the Former to fall upon them that were surrounded with Marshes and Pools. The Numbers of the Foot were in a manner even, either Side had about two Thousand; but *Baillie* was much stronger in Horse, for he had Six hundred, and *Montrose* but Two hundred and fifty: Only, *Montrose* had this Advantage, that the Enemy were for the most part Hirelings raised from the Dunghills; but those that served the King, Gentlemen who fought for a good Cause, and Honour, gratis, and not for Gain, and such as esteem'd it more becoming to die than to be overcome. Besides, *Montrose* knew, that the greatest Part of the old Soldiers were gone with *Lindsay*, and that the new ones would be so frightened with the Shouts of the Armies, and the Noise of the Trumpets, that they would scarce stand the first Charge. Therefore, in Confidence of so just a Cause, and so valiant Asserters of it, he first drew down his Men; and immediately the Lord *Gordon* giving a smart Charge upon them, was courageously received by the Enemy, who trusted to the Multitude of their Horse. And now being clos'd, and come to handy

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Blows, no one could advance a Foot, but over his vanquished Enemy, nor retreat, by Reason of the pressing on of those in the Rear. The first that made Way for themselves and their Men, by a great Slaughter of their Enemies, were the two *Gordons*, the Lord, and the Colonel. And Colonel *Nathaniel* called out unto those expert Firelocks, who now lin'd the Horse as they were wont, *Come on, my Fellow Soldiers, throw down your now useless Guns, draw your Swords, and sheath them in the Rebels Horse, or hamstring them.* They instantly took the Word of Command; and at the same Time, *Montrose* draws up *Napier* with his Reserve, which lay out of Sight on the other Side of the Hill; at whose sudden and unexpected coming, the Enemy afrighted, betook himself to his Heels. *Aboin*, with the left Wing, kept off, nor did he attempt the Enemy, but by light Skirmishes in small Parties; who when they saw their own Men on their left Wing routed and put to Flight, made their Retreat with little Loss. Their Foot being deserted by their Horse after they had desperately stood out a while, and refused Quarter, were almost all cut off. The Fall of the Lord *Gordon*, was no little Advantage to the Escape of their Horse, who after the Battle was won, rushing fiercely into the thickest of them, received a Shot through his Body by the conquered and flying Enemy, and fell down dead; whereupon *Aboin* did not hotly pursue, being much troubled with the Loss of his Brother.

In this Battle, *Montrose* did not lose so much as one common Soldier; and of Gentlemen, one *Culchol*, and one *Morton*, whose Names and Families I should most willingly have inserted, had I been so happy, as to have Knowledge of them, because they died gallantly in the Bed of Honour fighting for their King, their Liberty, and the Laws. Now are some Pedees, as well *Scottish* as *Irish* to be forgotten Boys, scarce fourteen Years of Age apiece, who throwing down their Masters Luggage, and mounting upon their Nag and Sumpter-Horses, did not only make a fair Appearance of a Body of Horse, but (as if they had been Co-rivals in Valour with their Masters) beyond what might be expected from their Years and Strength, fell in among the thickest of their Enemies, of whom some, but very few were slain; nor did they sell their Lives for nothing: And by that they gave an ample Testimony of their Towardness

his van- and of so manly a Spirit in Children, as might prescribe to
 ffing on riper Years. But the Loss of the Lord *Gordon* had so deep
 or them an Impression upon all Mens Affections, that they had the
 Enemies Face, rather of a defeated than victorious Army. The first
 And Co- Scene of their Sorrow was acted in amazing Silence. In the
 cks, who next, The Flood-Gates were broken open, and the Army
 ny Fellow was full of Sighs, and Sobs, and Wailing, and Lamenta-
 r Swords tion; and then with bedewed Cheeks, as soon as their Grief
 ng them could get a Tongue, they blam'd Heaven, and Earth, and
 nd at the Fortune, and every thing for depriving the King, the King-
 Reserve dom, the Age, themselves and their Posterity of such a
 at whose Man. Thus forgetting their Victory and the Spoil, they
 hted, be fixt their Eyes upon the lifeless Body, kissed his Face and
 ing, kept Hands, commended the singular Beauty of the Corps,
 kirmishe compared the Nobility of his Descent, and the Plentifulness
 a Men of his Fortune, with the Hopefulness of his Parts; and
 ir Retreat reckoned that an unfortunate Victory that had stood them
 their Horse so dear. And truly it was like to have happened, that
 d refused their excessive Sorrow for the Loss of this Noble Gentleman,
 Lord *Gordon* had conquer'd the Conquerors, had they not comforted
 ir Horse themselves with the Presence and Safety of *Montrose*.
 y into the Nor could he himself refrain from bewailing with Salt
 dy by the Tears, the sad and bitter Fate of his most dear and only
 d; whom Friend, he lamented much, that the Honour of his Nation,
 trouble the Ornament of the *Scottish* Nobility, the ablest Asserter
 of the Royal Authority in the *North*, and so intimate a
 Friend unto himself, should be thus cut off in the Flower of
 s one com his Age. In the mean Time, hoping that Reason and
 d one *Montrose* Time between them would assuage that Grief, he com-
 e willing mands Physicians to embalme his Noble Corps, which
 Knowledge afterwards being removed to *Aberdeen*, he saw brought forth
 of Honour with a sumptuous and Soldier-like Funeral, and interr'd in
 laws. No the Monument of his Ancestors in the Cathedral Church.
 forgotten This Battle was fought at *Alford* on the 2d. of *July*,
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C H A P. XII.

M*Ontrose*, that same Afternoon that he had got this Victory at *Alford*, marching to *Clunie* Castle, allowed only Two or Three Hours to his Soldiers for their Refreshment. And going from thence to the Bank of the River *Dee*, sent away the Earl of *Aboin*, who succeeded his deceased Brother, into *Buchanshire*, and the Places adjacent, for Recruits; for many of them who were at the Fight, being *Highlanders*, and not far from their own Habitations, had drop'd home with their Pillage; and because *M'Donald* was not yet returned, he kept his Quarters at *Craigston*, expecting both him and *Aboin*: But when he perceived those Auxiliaries were dispatched unto him with less Speed than he hoped; and finding his Expectation deluded, impatient of so long and disadvantageous Delay, after he had got over the *Dee* and *Gransbain*, fell down into the *Merns*, and lay at *Fordon* Chappel, once famous for the See and Sepulchre of *St. Palladius*. Thence he sends to the Earl of *Aboin* (who was now come to *Aberdeen*) to hasten unto him into the *Merns* with such Forces he heard he had raised. *Aboin* came indeed, but brought no great Store of Forces along with him; therefore he sends him back into the *North*, to raise as many Men as he could possibly, and bring them with all Speed unto the Camp. He himself going through *Angus*, met his Cousin *Patrick Graham* with his *Athol* Men, ready to live and die under his Command, and *M'Donald* with a great Power of *Highlanders*: With him was *M'Clean* the Chief of his Clan, a valiant Man, and singularly loyal, who brought some Seven hundred choice Foot of his Friends and Clients. Also the Chief of the *M'Ronalds*, a great Man in the *Highlands*, and one that entirely lov'd the King, who had above 500 of his Men with him. The *M'Grigors* also, and the *M'Knabs*, Men inferior to none in Valour and Hardiness, after the Fashion of the Country, followed their Commanders, and Chiefs of their Families, whose certain Number I cannot easily assign. And *Glengary*, a Man ne-

wer sufficiently to be commended for his Valour and Loyalty to the King, and Serviceableness and Affection to *Montrose*, (seeing he in Person, almost from the Expedition into *Argyll*, had never departed from him) by his Uncles and others whom he imployed, brought in about Five hundred more. Besides, out of the Plains of *Mar*, came a great Number of the *Farquharsons*, gallant Men and of approved Valour : And some too out of *Badenoch*, not many indeed, but stout and able Men of their Hands.

Montrose being reinforced with such an Army, resolves to make his Way into the Heart of the Kingdom ; as well to spoil the Enemy's levying of Men in *Fife-shire*, and the Country on this Side the *Forth*, as also to break up the Parliament which the Covenanters had not without Solemnity and Ostentation summoned at *St. Johnstoun*. Nor did any Thing hinder him, but want of Horse, of which always he had such Scarcity, that it was never or very seldom safe for him to fall down into the plain Country : Yet because he daily expected *Aboin* and *Airly* to come unto him with a considerable Party of Horse, he passed over the *Tay* at *Dunkel*, and lying near *Amunde*, struck no small Terrour into the Enemy who held *St. Johnstoun* ; and from thence approaching nearer unto them, he encamped in *Methven* Forest.

The Enemies Foot (all but the Garrison Soldiers in the Town) lay on the South of the River *Erne*. The Horse which were designed for the Guard of the Town and Parliament, as soon as they discovered *Montrose's* Scouts, bring in a hot Alarm that he was there, and come already close to the Gates, and no question, but he meant presently to scale the Walls, and make an Assault upon the Town : Therefore they were earnest with the Nobility and the whole Parliament, to secure themselves by a speedy Flight ; when all this while, *Montrose* had scarce a hundred Horse, and they were Four hundred. But he, the next Day, the more to increase their Terrour, drew near unto the Town with those Horse he had, and about the same Number of clever Musqueteers whom he mounted upon Pack-Horses ; and set out his Men in their View so much to his Advantage, that they appeared a considerable Body of Horse. And because the Enemy kept themselves within the Gates, forthwith turning towards *Duplin*, he diligently view'd this Side of the

the River *Erne* and all that Coast, as if he had Horse enough to keep all that Country in Subjection. And truly thus much he got by it, that the Enemy took him to be exceeding strong as well in Horse as Foot: Therefore, they drew together as many Forces from all Sides as they could make, with them they intended to engage with *Montrose*, if he offered to pass over the *Forth*. But he finding it not safe for himself neither to descend into the Champaign Country, they both kept their Stations for many Days, the Enemy expecting Auxiliaries out of *Eise*, and the Country on this Side the *Forth*, and out of the *West*; and *Montrose* looking for the like out of the *North*; and waiting impatiently for *Aboin*; who was too slow with his Men, he sent some to hasten him, lest they should lose the Opportunity of doing their Business. He also complained, but in a soft and gentle Manner, as of a faithful Friend, that *Aboin's* Lingring and Delay was in the Fault, that a brave Victory, by which he conceived the Rebels might have been utterly subdued, had slipped out of his Hands; which Misfortune no Man doubted, but his Speed and Diligence might have prevented.

The Enemy, when they understood that they only cheated them with a false Muster of Horse, having gotten Aid from all Parts, and by this Time over-numbring him even in Foot, labour'd not only to provoke, but even compel him to fight. Whereupon he concluded to step aside a little into the neighbouring Mountains, whither he knew either the Enemy would not advance, or if they did, it would be to their Loss. Therefore, the Enemy drawing near with all their Army to *Metkuen*, he gives a private Command for the Carriages to drive fast up the Hills, whilst he, as if he intended to fight, orders the Battle, makes good the Passes with strong Guards, and draws up the Horse into the Front. Nor did the Enemy expect any other than to try it out by Battle, which he made, as if he would give, till such Time as the Carriages were got so far before, that he conceiv'd them out of Danger: And then he commands the Army, in one Body of close Ranks to march away apace: He gave Charge unto such Horse as he had, and his ablest Firelocks to bring up the Rear, and to secure them from the Enemies Horse. The Enemy providing for a present Charge, as they expected, when they saw *Montrose*

retreating

retreating, first, pursued eagerly, though to no Purpose ; for he making good all Passes as he went, easily repulsed them ; and without Loss of so much as one private Soldier, came cheerfully off into the Heights and steep Places that were unaccessible unto the Enemies Horse ; and for their Foot they fear'd no Assault from them. It is remarkable, That when *Montrose's* Horse were come up unto the Passes, and the Enemy knew very well they were not able to pursue any further, lest with all that pains, they should seem to have done nothing at all, they sent out Three hundred of their ablest and readiest Horse to follow after them with a great Shout and base Language ; whom, when *Montrose* saw, he call'd for Twenty active well bodied Men of the *Highlanders* that were used to hunting, and very good Marks-men, and commanded them to check their Intolence ; and they, first of all creeping hither and thither, and hiding their Guns, took their Aims so well, that they knockt down some of the forwardest of those Men ; who being Men of the better Sort, by their Example, made the rest more wary ; so that they were all contented to retreat. But those good Hunts men being encouraged with their good Success, as soon as they saw their Enemies disorder'd, came into the open Plain, and resolutely charged their Horse : Who, in as much Fear as Bucks or Does chased by Hunters, set Spurs to their Horse, and fled back to their main Body as if the Devil were in them.

The Enemy upon their Retreat, chose that Place for their Rendezvous from whence *Montrose* departed, *Methven's* Forest : After they had done nothing worthy to be remembered in all that Expedition, but, that when they found themselves unable to cope with Men, they exercised their Cruelty upon Women : For all the Wives of the *Irish* and *Highlanders* that they light of, (who followed the Camp for the Love of their Husband) most basely and shamelessly they hew'd in Pieces. *Montrose* kept his Quarters at little *Dunkel*, both because the Place was cumberfom and unpassable for Horse, and lay very inconveniently for receiving such Aids as he daily expected with *Aboin* out of the *North*. All which Time, the Two Armies lying close together, rather stood upon their Guards, than offered any Affront one to the other.

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And now at length, *Abuin* and Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* brought up their Men out of the *North* to *Dunkel*, Men for their Number indeed fewer than was expected; but for their Stoutness and true Valour, far above their Number. The Horse they brought, were only Two hundred, and some Sixscore Firelocks whom they had mounted and made Dragoons; other Foot they brought none. Along with them, came the Earl of *Airley* and Sir *David* his Son, with Fourscore Horse, most of them of the Noble Family of the *Ogilvies*; amongst whom, *Alexander* Son and Heir of Sir *John Ogilvie* of *Inverquharity*, was most eminent, not only for the rare Accomplishments of his Person, and the Splendor of his Ancestors, but for the Honour of his valiant and happy Atchievements, much above what his Age could promise. *Montrose* being thus well recruited, thought it not good to lose any Time, but marched straight towards the Enemy. But as soon as he came to *Amonde* he thought it best to see in what Condition the Enemy was, and to find out whether that was true which he had receiv'd a flying Report of; that was, That very many of their Auxiliaries had deserted their Colours, and run home. Therefore leaving his Foot to take their rest, a little before Night, he fac'd the Enemy with his Horse; with which Sight, being something afrighted, they kept within their Trenches. And next morning early, *Montrose* riding about to discover, was informed that they had stolen away at the dead of the Night to *Methven*, and in Disorder, had got over a Bridge upon the *Ern*. He instantly causes his Men to march, and passing the River at a Stone-bridge about Six Miles off, lay that Night in *Strath-Ern*,

CH A P. XIII.

FIFE is the most populous, the most rich, the thickest of Country Towns and Villages in all *Scotland*: Its Inhabitants are little Martial, consisting most of Merchants, Shop-keepers, Mariners and Husband-men. But so new-fangled in their Religion, and so bewitched, both by the Example and Authority of the Nobility, and by

by the Sermons of their seditious Ministers, that all of them upon the matter, were extremely addicted to the Covenanters. The Country it self is almost an Island, being environ'd toward the *South* with the *Scottish Firth*, on the *North*, with the *Tay*, which carrieth Ships of great Burden all along; on the *East*, with the Main Sea; no Entrance thither by Land, but on the *West*: In the Streights of which both Armies lay. The whole Country was in a Distraction, some (especially their much admired Preachers that thundred nothing but Excommunications, inciting and compelling all of every Estate and Age to take up Arms) others, flocking in great Numbers unto them, others running hither and thither to hide themselves, as ever yone was led by his Superstition, Confidence or Fear. *Montrose* was very desirous to assault the Enemy, and try the Fortune of a Battle with them before they encreas'd their Forces with Additions of the *Fife-men*; but it would not be: For they had so fortified themselves by the Advantage of the Ground, and the Narrowness of the Passages, that he could by no means either make his Way unto them or draw them out into plainer Ground. Having therefore made them several fruitless Offers of Battle, he resolv'd to march into the Heart of the Country, and came to *Kinross*, as well to hinder the rising of that Country, as to train the Enemy at last out of their Fastness, to come in unto the Aid of their distressed Friends. They, not so much as daring to fall upon his Rear, turn'd another Way, and keeping close to the Bank, first of the *Ern*, afterwards of the *Tay*, made speed towards the East-side of the Country. As *Montrose* passed along, he sent Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, and Sir *William Rollock* before him with a small Party. These sending the rest of their Party up and down to scout, kept only Ten Men in their Company. On a sudden, they happened upon Two hundred of the Enemy who were raising Men in those Parts; and being not able to retreat, they Twelve encouraged the Two hundred, put them to flight, kill'd some, and took other some Prisoners.

Montrose that Night came to *Kinross*, not doubting, but they of *Fife*, who were exceedingly out of Love with the King, most firm to the Covenanters, and wholly given to the new Superstition, were generally up in Arms. There-

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fore, thinking it not safe rashly to engage with so great a Multitude of Horse and Foot, he determin'd to pass over the *Forth*; and that upon this ground, That he having wearied out the *Fife-men* (whom he believ'd would not be easily perswaded to follow the Army further than their own Borders) with long Marches, might vanquish them without a Blow. For he accounted, that most of them being born or brought up in Shops, or Ships or Taverns, and not acquainted with the Hardships of Soldiers, would presently give way, and be weary. Besides, such of the Nobility as were in Rebellion (after they saw with Sorrow, that the Seat of the War was drawn so near them as the *Forth*) were raising Men with more Eagerness than ever before, upon the Borders, and in the *West*, of whom the Chiefs were the Earls of *Lanerk*, *Cassils*, and *Eglintoun*; whole Levies, *Montrose* laboured either to hinder, or draw themselves to his Side before they came up to *Baillie* and the *Fife-men*: Therefore, he marched from *Kinross* towards *Stirling*, and lay all that Night some Three Miles from the City. The next Day sending the Foot before, he followed softly after with the Horse, because he suspected that the Enemy pursued him in the Rear.

Nor was he deceived in that Suspicion; for some Spies whom he left behind him, brought Word, that *Baillie* was hard by with the greatest Army that ever he had. And immediately, the Enemies Scouts came within View, one of whom being too forward, was brought Prisoner to *Montrose*, by some of his Horse. He being examined, told them freely and confidently, That he believed *Baillie* and his Party were resolved to march all that Night to engage him to fight as soon as was possible, before they dismiss the *Fife-men*, who being already tir'd, he hardly believ'd would be drawn over the *Forth*, accounting their Work at an end, as soon as the Enemy was gone out of their own Country. Therefore, *Montrose* that he might get speedily over the *Forth*, bid his Men march apace, and going on the other Side of *Stirling* (a good Town, and one of the Kings strongest Castles, in which the Enemy had now a great Garison) that same Night passed over the River, at a Ford about Four Miles above the Town. And at Break of Day next Morning made a Halt a while, about Six Miles from *Stirling*, where

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where he had Intelligence, that the Enemy the Night before had not come over the *Forth*, but quartered Three Miles from *Stirling*, on the other Side of the River. Therefore, *Montrose* holding on his intended Journey, encamped himself in that fatal Place, the Field of *Kilsyth*. He bids the Soldiers to refresh themselves, but however to be in a Readiness either to fight or march, as Occasion should serve. The Enemy the mean While, by an easier and shorter Cut, got over the *Forth* at *Stirling* Bridge, and encamped at Night some Three Miles from *Kilsyth*.

In the *Interim*, the Earl of *Lanerk*, Duke *Hamilton's* Brother had rais'd a Thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse of the Friends and Clients of the *Hamiltons*, in *Clidesdale* and the Places adjacent, and was not at present above Twelve Miles from *Kilsyth*. And the Earls of *Cassils*, *Eglington*, and *Glencarn*, with others of the covenanting Nobility, were engaging the *West* unto the same impious *Militia*, who were so much the readier to take up Arms, by how much they had less felt the Miseries of War. Which things being well considered, *Montrose* thought it best to fight with those Forces which *Baillie* had at present. For, although they were more numerous than his own, yet the Danger was like to be greater of his Side, if he should be put to engage with them, when *Lanerk's* and other Parties were come up. But moreover, he was either obliged to take this Course or do nothing, and return back unto the *Highlands* with the Blemish of that Honour which by so many Victories he had atchiev'd. The Enemy on the other Side being arrogant, and confiding in the Multitude of their Men, believ'd that *Montrose* had but made a running March the Days before, and had passed the *Forth* more out of Fear than Design: So that they counted it nothing to assault him in that Ground and Entrenchment which he had chosen to his best Advantage. And above all, their proud Hopes were most careful of this, to block up all Ways of his Escape, and to prevent his Return into the Mountains. But there are some that say, *Baillie* himself thought it not best to give him Battle, but was over-
sway'd by the Authority and Votes of the Earl of *Lindsay* especially, and some other of the Nobility that were present in the Army, which forc't him much against his Stomach to draw up his Men, and order the Battle as he could.

However it was, early in the Morning they led their Men straight upon *Montrose*: Which when he saw, he told the Standers-by, That, that was happen'd which he most desired, for now he could supply his Want of Men by the Advantage of the Ground; and therefore he made Haste to possess himself of the Fastnesses before them. Moreover, he commands all his Men, as well Horse as Foot, to throw off their Doublets, and to affront the Enemy all in White, being naked unto the Waste, all but their Shirts: Which when they had cheerfully performed, they stood there provided and ready to fight, resolved certainly either to conquer or die.

In the Field where they intended to fight, there were some Cottages and some Country-Gardens, where *Montrose* had conveniently lodged some few Men; and the first Design of the Enemy was to dislodge them. But it took not; for making a fierce Assault, and being as stoutly receiv'd, as soon as they were observ'd to cool something of their first Heat, those that mann'd the Places, beat them off, drove them away, and slew them without Resistance. The *Highlanders* being animated with this happy Success, those that were next those Places not expecting the Word of Command, ran rashly up the Hill which lay open to the whole Strength of the Enemy. *Montrose*, although he was something troubled at the unseasonable Boldness of his Men, yet thought it not good to leave them engaged; nor was it easie to say, Whether the Quickness of his Relief or the Cowardliness of the Enemy conduc'd more to their Safety. *Montrose* had in all, Four thousand four hundred Foot, and Five hundred Horse; a Thousand of his Foot or more had now by their own Fault so engaged themselves with the Enemy, that they could not come off, for the Enemy encounter'd them with Six thousand Foot, and Eight hundred Horse: But the Enemies Rear came up but slowly, and while the Van made a Stand expecting their Advance, *Montrose* had Opportunity to bring timely Aid to his engaged Men. But at last, they send out Three Troops of Horse, and after them, Two thousand Foot against those rash and almost lost Men of *Montrose*'s. Which when *Montrose* saw (after others had too dishonourably shifted off that Service) he thus bespeaks the Earl of *Airly*, You see (my noble Lord) how yonder Men of ours, by their Unad-

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wisedness have brought themselves into a most desperate Hazard,
 and will presently be trampled to Dirt by the Enemies Horse,
 except we relieve them with all speed. Now all Mens Eyes and
 Hearts are fixt upon your Lordship, they think you only worthy so
 great an Honour as to repel the Enemy and bring off our fellow
 Soldiers. Besides, it seems most proper for you, that the Error which
 hath been committed by the fool Hardiness of Youth, may be correct-
 ed by your Lordship's grave and discreet Valour. And he undertook
 the Service (as dangerous as it was) with all his Heart :
 And beng guarded with a Troop of Horse, (in which rode
 John Ogilvie of Baldevy, who had formerly been a Colonel
 in Swedland, a stout Man and a skilful Soldier) led them on
 straight upon the Enemy. And they giving the Charge u-
 pon the Ogilvies, disputed it sharply with them for a while;
 but at last being no longer able to withstand their Courage,
 fac't about ; whom the Ogilvies pursued so hotly, that
 they made them fall foul upon their own Foot ; and
 (charging them furiously through and through) routed
 them and trode them under Foot. By this gallant Example
 of Airly and the Ogilvies, Montrose's Soldiers being enrag'd
 more and more could no longer be kept back from raising
 a great Shout, (as if they had already got the Day) and
 falling on the Enemy, nor would the Rebels Horse long
 abide their Charge, but deserting their Foot, fell a run-
 ning as fast as ever they could : Nor did their Foot after
 they were so deserted, stand it out long, but throwing down
 their Arms, sought to save their Lives by Flight, which
 proved unserviceable ; for the victorious Pursuers had the
 killing of them for Fourteen Miles : So that of all the E-
 nemies Foot that were present at that Battle it is thought
 there did not an Hundred come off. Nor did their Horse
 escape very well, of whom some were killed, some taken,
 the rest disperst. Their Ordnance, their Arms, their Spoils
 came clearly to the Conquerours, who lost only Six of their
 side, whereof Three of them were Ogilvies, valiant Gentle-
 man, who fighting like themselves, sealed the Victory with
 their own Blood. The rebellious Sort of the Nobility (of
 whom many were in the Fight) some of them by their
 timeous running, and Swiftness of their Horses, got to the
 Town and strong Castle of Stirling ; others escaping to the
 Scottish Fyrth, shipt themselves in some Vessels that lay at
 Anchor near the Shore : Amongst whom, Argyll (having
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now this third Time, been fortunate to a Boat) escaped into a Ship, and thought himself scarce safe enough so, till weighing Anchor, he got into the Main. Of Prisoners, the Chief were Sir *William Murray* of *Blebo*, *James Arnot* Brother to the Lord *Burley*, one Colonel *Dice*, and Colonel *Wallis*, besides many more, whom *Montrose*, after Quarter given, used courteously, and upon the Engagement of their Honours, set at liberty. And this is that famous Victory at *Kilsyth*, obtained on the 15th Day of September 1645, in which it is believ'd, no fewer than Six thousand Rebels were slain.

C H A P. XIV.

TH E R E was a great Alteration all the Kingdom over after this Battle at *Kilsyth*: Those of the Rebel Nobility, were all of them sore affrighted, some of them fled to *Berwick*, some to *Carlisle*, some to *Newcastle*, others into *Ireland*. And such as before, only privately wisht well unto the King, now did no longer fear to shew themselves, to express their Loyalty, to pray openly for his Prosperity, and to offer their Service. But those that before had sided with the Covenanters, began to ask Forgiveness; to plead they were constrain'd to take up Arms by the Violence and Tyranny of the Rebels, to submit their Persons and Estates to the Conqueror, humbly to beseech his Protection, and implore his wonted Clemency. And Cities and Countries that were furthest off, began to dispatch their Names, their Allegiance to their King, their Duty and Service to his Vicegerent, and freely to offer him Men, Arms, Provision, and other Necessaries of War. The Nobility of the Realm, and the Chiefs of Clans, came in thick unto the Lord Governor, welcomed him, tendred their Service unto him, extol'd his high and honourable Achievements, and thank't him for them. All whom he pardoned for what was past, receiv'd them with Liberty and Indemnity into his Protection, and encouraged them to be of good Cheer. Nor did he lay any greater Burden upon them, than to

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change that covetous and cruel Slavery which they were manacled with by the Rebels, for the sweet and gentle Government and Protection of a most gracious Prince ; and by laying aside all former Grudges and Feuds, hereafter more religiously to observe their Duty and Loyalty to the good King ; and thence forward never more to have to do with the Counsels of Seditious Men, who, by endeavouring to satisfy their own Lusts, had engaged King and Subject, one against the other, and upon the Matter ruin'd both. For his Part, he never had any other Intention, than to restore their Religion, their King, their Liberty, his Peers and Country-men, by Arms (when no other means were left) out of the Tyranny of Rebels unto their ancient Peace, Happiness and Glory. Which if he should effect, he would give Almighty God, the Author of all good Things, everlasting Praise : But if he failed, however, he should by these his honest Endeavours, acquit himself before God, and God's Vicegerent, his Majesty ; before all good Men, and his Posterity, his Honour and his Conscience.

At this Time, the whole Kingdom sounded nothing but Montrose's Praise. Men of all Sorts every where extolling the Ingenuity of his Disposition, in which he surpass'd all his Equals ; the Gallantry of his Person in War, his Patience in Travels, his Evenness of Spirit in Dangers, his Wisdom in Counsels, his Faithfulness to such as submitted, his Quickness in Dispatches, his Courtesy to such as he took Prisoners ; in a Word, his truly heroick Virtue in all Things, and towards all Men. And this Honour, most Men gave him in good earnest ; and out of a sincere Affection, but some in Craft and Dissimulation : And as every one had Wit or Skill, they set forth his *Encomiums* or *Panegyrics* in Verse or Prose. Yea, such is the Volubility of humane Things, and the Inconstancy of the whirling Multitude, that they were not afraid openly to curse and rail at the Ringleaders and prime Men of the Covenanters Faction, such as *Argyll*, *Lindsay*, *Loudon*, and others, (whom a While ago, they honoured and adored for Saints) as Authors of all the Mischiefs that had befallen them.

All Things going on thus happily, the Northern Parts of the Kingdom being secured on his Back, the Way being opened unto him into the South, the Power of the Rebels every where quash'd, their chief Leaders (who in Conscience of their Guilt despaired of Mercy) driven out of the

the Kingdom, and no considerable Party remaining in Arms ; yet in the *West* there were some Stirs : For the Earls of *Cassils* and *Eglington*, and some other Promoters of the Covenanters Cause, laboured to engage the Countries in a new War, and were said to have rais'd in a tumultuary Way, the Number of Four thousand Men. Therefore *Montrose*, the next Day after the Battle of *Kilsyth*, drew his Men into *Clidesdale*, from whence the Earl of *Lanerk*, being struck with the News of their late Overthrow, disbanding those Men that he had rais'd, was fled. *Montrose* chose that Quarter as lying most commodiously for his Affairs in the *South* and *West*, and marched to *Glasgow*, which is the principal City of that Country. He receiv'd the Town into his Protection : And entering into it with the joyful Acclamations of the People, *first* of all, he restrained his Soldiers from Plunder ; and then being severe against the Delinquents, for the Terror of others, he put some of the chiefest Incendiaries of them to Death. After that, in Favour of the Citizens, the next day after he came, he departed the Town and quartered at *Bothwell* ; where, because it was but Six Miles from the City, lest the Citizens should be prejudiced by the Insolence of the Soldiers, he gave them Leave to stand upon their Guard, and defend the City with a Garison of the Inhabitants, hoping with such Acts of Clemency, to engage not only, the Men of *Glasgow* unto himself, but the Inhabitants of other Cities also, by good Offices, more than by Force and Arms.

At *Bothwell* he staid many Days, where he received the personal Addresses of some of the Nobility, and of others by their Trustees, Friends, and Messengers ; and settled the Peace of Towns and Countries thereabouts, who all willingly submitted themselves. The Chief of the Inhabitants of those Parts who came to welcome him, and offer their Service were, the Marquis of *Douglas*, a Man of a most Noble Family, and Chief of the *Douglases*, the Earls of *Limmuck*, *Annandale*, and *Herifield* ; the Lord Barons of *Seton*, *Drummond*, *Elewing*, *Maderty*, *Carnegy*, and *Johnson*, *Hamilton* of *Orbeston*, *Charter* of *Hempfield*, *Toures* of *Innerleigh*, (a most deserving Man, who afterwards lost his Life gallantly in Battle) *Stewart* of *Resyth*, *Dalziel* a Brother of the Earl of *Carnwath*, Knights : and many more, whose Names I can either not rightly call to Mind, or else thing fit to forbear

at present, left by giving them an unseasonable and thankless Commendation now whiles they ly under intolerable Tyranny, I should do them more Harm than Honour.

After the Victory of *Kilsyth*, no Thoughts had higher place in *Montrose's* noble Breast, than the Enlargement of such Prisoners, as for no other Fault but the Sin of Loyalty, had been most basely used, and still expected Death, in the grievous and filthy Goal of *Edinburgh*. Therefore, he sends his Nephew *Napier* with Col. *Nathaniel Gordon*, and a commanded Party of Horse to *Edinburgh*, to summon the City, and receive it upon Surrender, to set the Prisoners at Liberty, and to settle the Town in Peace and Loyalty; but in Case they stood out and refused to submit, to threaten them with Fire and Sword. They, as soon as they came within Four Miles of the Town, made a Stand, (and intended to come no nearer, unless they chanced to be forced unto it by the Obstinacy of the Citizens,) as well that at that Distance, they might the more easily restrain the Unruliness of the Soldier, lest they should wrong the poor Inhabitants, and in their Fury reduce that cursed City, which had been the Cause and Fomenter of all the Rebellion, into Ashes, which *Montrose* gave them especially in Charge, by all means to prevent; as also to preserve the Army safe from the Plague, which was hot in the City and Places adjacent, and whereof very many died every Day. As soon as ever the News of their Approach was brought unto the Town, they all began to tremble, and despair of their Lives; and to raise a Cry, as if the Swords were already at their Throats, or their Houses in a Flame: Not a few of them being pricked in their guilty Consciences, freely and openly accused themselves for the most ungrateful, traitorous, sacrilegious, and perjured Persons in the World, and unworthy of any Mercy. Then applying themselves unto the Prisoners they had, both calling unto them afar off, and sending private Messengers, they implored their Assistance, and besought them in Compassion of the poor wretched People, who were almost wasted with a great Mortality, to pacifie the Anger of the Conquerors whom they had most justly incensed; told them, all their Hopes lay in them, and they were utterly undone without their Help. Protested moreover, that if they found Mercy but that one Time, they would redeem their former Revolt with more religious Fidelity and

constant Allegiance ever after. The Prisoners (whom but the other Day the basest of the People bitterly abused and reviled, cursing and bequeathing them to the Gallows and worse) forgetting all Injuries received, and more troubled with the Sense than Revenge of their Sufferings, first rendered hearty Thanks to Almighty God, who of his Mercy shewed unto them that Liberty and Safety which they little expected; and then turning unto their deadly Enemies, bade them be of good Cheer ; for the most gracious King (and his Lieutenant Montrose) desired the Safety and Happiness of his repenting Subjects, and not their Extirpation and Ruin. Therefore, they advised them immediately to send some Delegates to Montrose humbly to beg his Pardon ; for nothing could better appease the Rage of a Conqueror, than a speedy Submission. For their Parts, they would not be backward to mediate with him for their Safety, and doubted not but his high and noble Spirit which could not be vanquish'd with their Arms, would yet suffer it self to be overcome with the Prayers and Lamentations of Men in Misery.

The *Edinburgians* being comforted with these Hopes and assisted with this good Advice, immediately call a Hall to consult of sending Delegates. There were among the Prisoners, of those that were most high in Birth, and Favoured with *Montrose*, *Lodovick Earl of Crawford*, Chief of the most ancient and noble Family of the *Lindsays*, a Man famous for military Service in foreign Nations, amongst the *Swedes*, *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* : This Man by the Power and Cunning of his Cousin the Earl of *Lindsay* (who, because he was greedy of the Honour and Title of the Earl of *Crawford*, was greedy also of his Life) was designed by the Covenanters to be put to Death ; nor was it for any other Crime, but for being a Soldier, and an expert Man and one that had done faithful Service for his Master the King, and it was feared he would do so again if he should be suffered to live. There was also *James Lord Ogilvie* Son to the Earl of *Airly*, one singularly beloved by *Montrose* who was formidable both for his Father's and his own Virtue and Authority. He also being an Enemy to *Argyll* both upon old Fewds and some fresher Wrongs, was just as deep in Sin and Danger as *Crawford*. These therefore, the common Council of *Edinburgh* chose out of the rest of the Prisoners, and immediately setting them at Liberty, they earnestly

pray and beseech them to assist their Delegates to the uttermost of the Power they had with the Lord Governor, and to labour to hold his Hands off that miserable City, upon which the Hand of God himself, lay so heavy already. And they curse themselves and their Posterity to the Pit of Hell, if they should ever prove unmindful of so great a Favour, or unthankful to them that did it. They were not backward to undertake a Business which was so universally desired, but taking the Delegates along with them, went forth to Napier. He, having by the Way delivered his dear Father, his Wife, his Brother in Law Sir Stirling of Keer, and his Sisters out of the Prison at Linlithgow, whither the Covenanters had removed them from Edinburgh Castle, marched back unto his Uncle with his Forces, and those Prisoners now at Liberty, and the Delegates of the City, as having done his Business. Montrose embracing Crawford, and Ogilvie his dearest Friend, whom he had long longed for, And rejoicing to see them safe and sound, used them with all Honour and Accommodation after their long Restraint: And they on the other Side, magnified their Deliverer and Avenger, with high Praises and Thanks, (as became them to do,) on both Sides affording a Spectacle of great Joy to the Beholders.

Afterwards, the Delegates of Edinburgh were admitted to Audience, and delivered their Message from the Provost and City. The Sum was, *They would freely surrender the Town unto the Governor, humbly desired his Pardon, promised to be more dutiful and loyal for the Time to come; committed themselves and all that they had to his Patronage and Protection, for which they earnestly besought him. Moreover, they undertook forthwith to set the rest of the Prisoners at Liberty according to his Appointment, and to do any Thing else that he should enjoyn them. And although the City was so wasted with a grievous Contagion, that no Man could be raised out of it, yet they were ready as far as their Share came, to pay Contribution to such as should be raised in other Places. And above all Things, they humbly begged at his Hands, that he would labour to mitigate the Anger of their most gracious Lord the King, that he might not be too severe with that City, which by the Cunning, Authority, and Example of a seditious and prevailing Party, had been engaged in Rebellion. Montrose bade them be confident of the rest, and required no more at their Hands, than to be hereafter*

more observant of their Loyalty to the King, and faithfully to renounce all Correspondence with the Rebels in Arms against him, either without or within the Kingdom; to restore the Castle of Edinburgh (which was evident, was in their Custody at that Time) unto the King and his Officers. Lastly, as soon as the Delegates came Home, to set the Prisoners at Liberty, and send them to him. And truly as for the Prisoners, they sent them away upon their Return; but as to other Articles they were perfidious, and perjured; and if they do not repent, must one Day give an Account unto God the Assertor of Truth and Justice, for their high Ingratitude, and reiterated Disloyalty.

Whiles these Things passed concerning Edinburgh, Montrose sent away Alexander M'donald (to whom he joined John Drummond of Ball, a stout Gentleman) into the western Coasts, to allay the Tumults there, and to spoil the Designs of Cassils and Eglington. But they receiving the Alarm of M'donald's Approach, were immediately dispers'd in a great Fright. Some of the Earls and other Nobles made straight into Ireland; others hid themselves in I know not what lurking Places. All the western Countries, the Towns of Air, Irwin and others, strove which should first submit, freely offering their Fidelity and Service. Neither (which was more than he expected) did Montrose ever find Men better affected to the King, than in those western Parts: For most of the Gentry, Knights, and Chiefs of Families, and some also of the prime Nobility came off cheerfully to his Side. whose Names, which otherwise ought to have been registred with Honour, at the present, I shall pass by (if not in an acceptable perhaps, yet certainly in an advantageous Silence,) for I should be loath, so honest and loyal Souls should be questioned by their cruel Enemies, for their good Affections, upon my Information.

C H A P. XV.

Montrose had now taken into his Thoughts the settling of the south Borders, and sent unto the Earls of *Hume, Roxburgh, and Traquair*, to invite them to associate with him in Matters of Peace and War, and all Things that were to be done in the Name and by the Authority of the King. These were not only the powerfullest Men in those Parts, by Reason of the Multitude of their Friends, and their great Retinue, but also made as though they were most cordial Assertors of the King's Authority. For, besides the Bond of Allegiance which was common to them with others, they were engaged unto him by extraordinary Benefits. Nor were they only advanced unto great Honours by him, as being raised from the Order of Knighthood to a high Pitch of Nobility; but were made Governors of the most gainful Countries, and by that means being enriched above their Equals and their own Condition, heaped up Wealth indeed unto themselves, but Envy and Hatred upon the King. They again dispatch some of their Friends of the best Quality to assure him, *That they were ready to undergo any Hazard under his Conduct and Command in the Behalf of their most bountiful King. They promise moreover, to raise a World of Men, and nothing hindered their coming up unto the Camp, if he would but be pleased to draw that Way with never so small a Party of his Forces: And so it would come to pass, that not only their Friends and Clients, but the whole Country being animated with his Presence and Authority, would cheerfully take up Arms as one Man; and if they stood out, they might be compelled, or a Course taken with them. Therefore, they earnestly besought him to afford them his Assistance in this, and in all the rest he should find them his most faithful and ready servants.* These were fair Words, and at first hearing, seem'd to carry an honest Meaning along with them; but were promised with that Kind of Faith that the Creatures and Favourites of the too indulgent King are use d to keep. And perhaps upon that score, the Earl of *Lanerk* (Duke

Duke *Hamilton's* Brother) is more to be commended, whom *Montrose* having earnestly solicited by Friends to come off to the King's Side, although that way, he might very likely expect his Pardon for what was past, and the Releasement of his Brother; yet, without any Diffimulation, he gave this peremptory Answer, *That he would have nothing to do with that Side, and that he would never pretend that Friendship which he intended not to preserve.* And I would to God, all they on whom the good King has too much relied, had delivered themselves with the same Candor and plain Dealing ever since the Beginning of these Troubles.

About the same Time, *Montrose* sent the Marquis of *Douglas* and the Lord *Ogilvie* over into *Anandale* and *Niddisdale*, that there, with the Assistance of the Earls of *Anandale* and *Hartfield*, they might list as many Soldiers, Horse especially, as they could; and gives them Orders withall, to march with such as they should so raise towards *Traquair*, *Roxborough*, and *Hume*; that they might engage them without any further Put-offs, in an Association with them. For *Montrose* understood the Ways of Courtiers, and therefore was something suspicious of the Delays which they fram'd, the rather having had some Experience of their Cunning and Slippriness, especially of *Traquair's*. And truly *Douglas*, by the cheerful Endeavours of the Earls of *Anandale* and *Hartfield*, had quickly raised a considerable Party, if one reckon them by the Head; but they were new Men, taken from their Ploughs and Flocks, and but raw Soldiers, forward enough at the first Charge, but by and by, their Hearts fail them, and they can by no means be kept to their Colours. When *Douglas* and the rest of the Commanders considered this, they write again and again to *Montrose*, that he would make haste after them with his old Soldiers, towards *Tweed*: For by his Presence and Authority, and the Company and Example of the old Soldiers, they might be brought either willingly, or whether they would or no, to know their Duties. In the mean Time, according to his Command, they go on to *Strathgal*, freely offering an Opportunity (and their Service if needed) to *Roxburgh* and *Traquair*, to draw out their Men the more easily and timely. But they (good Men) who well enough understood the secretest Counsels of the Covenanters, and knew that all their Horse would be there

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immediately out of *England*, under the Command of *David Leslie*, intended nothing more than to over-reach the King with their old Tricks, and to deliver *Montrose* (whose Glory they envied) into the Hands of his Enemies, though not by Arms (for that they could not) yet by Treachery. To that End, they insinuate again and again, not only unto *Douglas* and his Party, but to *Montrose* himself, by their Friends and frequent Messengers, that for their Parts, they were ready to expose their Persons to the utmost Hazard; but they could never be able to draw together their Friends, Clients, and trained Bands, except they were animated and encouraged with *Montrose* his Presence. And that they might be the better believed, they curse themselves to the Pit of Hell, if they did not stand stiffly and unalterably to their Promise. *Montrose* notwithstanding was not taken with all this, but staid still at *Bothwell*, conceiving that if there were any Truth or Honesty in their Words, *Douglas* and his Party, who still lay in the Country adjacent, would be sufficient for the raising and encouraging of their Friends and Dependents.

At length, when *Montrose* had quartered a great while at *Bothwell*, most of the *Highlanders* being loaden with Spoil, ran privately away from their Colours and returned Home. Presently after, their Commanders desired Furloughs for a little while, pretending that the Enemy had not an Army in the Field within the Borders of that Kingdom, and therefore, their Service for the present might well be spared; besides, they complained that their Houses and their Corn, in and with which their Parents, Wives, Children, were to be sustained that Winter, were fired by the Enemy, and no Provision made for them; so that they humbly desired to be excused for a few Weeks, in which they might take Care to secure their Families from Hunger and Cold. Also, they solemnly and voluntarily engaged their Words, That they would return many more than they went, and much refreshed, within Forty Days. These, *Montrose*, seeing he could not hold them, as being Volunteers and fighting without Pay, that he might the more engage them, thought fit to dismiss, not only with Licences but Commissions. And giving publick Commendations to the Soldiers, and Thanks in His Majesty's Name to the Commanders, exhorting them to follow their Business closely and vigorously, he appoints

Alexander

Alexander M'Donald their Countryman and Kinsman (who was but too ambitious of that Employment) to be their Companion and Guide, who should bring them back to the Camp by the Day appointed, who in a set Speech gave Thanks in all their Names to the Lord Governor, for his so noble Favour ; and as if he had been their Bail or Surety, with a solemn Oath, undertook for their sudden Return: Yet he never saw *Montrose* after. Nor was he contented to carry away with him the whole Forces of the *Highlanders*, (who were more than Three Thousand stout Men) but he privily drew away Sixscore of the best *Irish*, as if (forsooth) he had pick't them out for his Life-guard.

About this very Time, many Messengers came several ways to *Bothwell* from the King at *Oxford*. Amongst whom, one was *Andrew Sandiland* a Scots-Man, but bred in *England*, and entred into holy Orders there, a very upright Man, faithful to the King, and much respected by *Montrose*, who continued constantly with him unto the End of the War. Another, was Sir *Robert Spotiswood*, once the most deserving President of the highest Court in *Scotland*, and now his Majesty's Secretary for that Kingdom, who passed from *Oxford* through *Wales* into *Anglesey*, and thence getting a Passage into *Lochaber*, came into *Athol*, and was conducted by the Men of *Athol*, unto *Montrose*. Almost all the Agents that came, brought this Instruction amongst the rest, *That it was His Majesty's Pleasure, that he should joyn unto himself the Earls of Roxburgh and Traquair, and confide in their Advice and Endeavours ; of whose Fidelity and Industry no Question was to be made. Moreover, that he should make haste towards the Tweed, where he should meet a Party of Horse which the King would instantly dispatch out of England to be commanded by him, with whom he might safely give Battle to David Lesly, if (as was suspected) he marched that way with the Covenanters Horse.* All this the respective Bearers unanimously delivered, and His most excellent Majesty being over-credulous, signified by his Expresses. And *Montrose* being now over-born with the King's absolute Commands, takes up his Resolution to march to the Side of *Tweed*. But the Day before he went, the Soldiers being drawn up to a Rendezvous, (before that *M'Donald* and the *Highlanders* were gone) Sir *Robert Spotiswood* making an humble Obeysance, under the King's Standard, delivered His Majesty's Commission under the

(who was their Commander to the Archibald Primrose Clerk of the Supreme Council, to be read aloud. That being ended, in a short but stately Oration, he commended the Valour and Loyalty of the Soldiers, and the great Affection he bore them. And for M'Donald, he not only extoll'd his Gallantry in the Head of the Army, but by virtue of that Authority that he had received from the King, gave him the Honour of Knighthood. For not only *Montrose*, but all the King's Friends were confident of the Integrity of the Man; whose good Opinion he deceiv'd, not only to the undoing of the King's Cause, but the utter Ruine of himself and his Friends.

Montrose following his intended Journey, came the 2d Night to *Calder Castle*; at which Time, the Earl of *Aboin* (whether the Lord Governor would or no) carried away with him not only his own Men, but all the rest of the *Northern Forces*, whom he had inveigled to desert the Service. Nor would he be perswaded, either by Reason or the Intreaty of his Friends (who heartily detested that shameful Act) to stay but so much as one Week, and then he might depart, not only with the General's License, but with Honour, and the good Esteem of honest Men. Seeing it would be no better, *Montrose* passing by *Edinburgh*, led his small Army through *Lothian Shire*, and at *Strathgala* joined with *Douglas* and the other Commanders, whose Forces being much diminished, were daily mouldring more and more. In that Coast, *Traquair* himself came unto him, more cheerful and merry than he used to be, who pretended himself to be a most faithful Servant, not only to his Majesty, but also to *Montrose*; and the next Day sent him his Son the Lord *Linton*, with a gallant Party of Horse, as if they were to be under his Command; that by so likely a Pledge, he might make *Montrose* more secure, and so more easily ruine him. For this was not the first Time that *Traquair* plaid the *Covenanters Scout-master*: That ungratefulest piece of Mankind, intending to betray unto them, *Montrose*, and in him, the King himself.

Now, when he was not above Twelve Miles from the Lords *Hume* and *Roxburgh*, they sent not so much as a Messenger to him, nor offered him the smallest Courtesy: *Montrose* being much troubled at it, resolved to march into

their Territories, and to bring them in, either by fair means or foul. But they prevented him by a singular Device: They sent unto *David Lesly*, whom they well knew by that time was come to *Berwick* with all the *Scots* Horse, and many *English* Volunteers (for they were privy to all their Councils) and intreated him to send a Party, and carry them away in the Condition of Prisoners) which he did the Day before *Montrose* came thither. For by this means, that Crafty old Fox *Roxburgh* (who had *Hume* under his Girdle) conceiv'd, That they might both ingratiate themselves with the Covenanters, as freely committing themselves into their Protection, and yet keep in the King's Favour, while they made as if they fell into *Lesley's* Hands fore against their Wills. And this being *Lesly's* first noble Exploit, he passed over *Tweed* and marched into the East-side of *Lothian*. *Montrose*, as soon as he perceived the King and himself betray'd by these Men, and saw no Hopes of that Party of Horse which was come from the King, and that the too powerful Enemy would block up his Passage into the *North* and *Highlands*, resolved to march with those few Men he had into *Nithisdale* and *Ammandale*, and the Country of *Air*, that he might there raise what Horse he could. For although he had no certain Intelligence concerning the Strength of the Enemy, yet he conjectur'd, that it consisted especially in Horse.

CHAP. XVI.

MONTROSE leaving *Kelfo*, marched to *Federburgh*, and so to *Selkirk*, where he quartered his Horse in a Village, and his Foot in a Wood close by. For he was resolved to make sure of all Advantages of Ground, lest he should be forced to fight with an Enemy of whose Strength he knew nothing, upon unequal Terms. But then he commands the Captains of Horse to set out good store of faithful and active Scouts, and to place Horse Guards in convenient Places on every Side, and look well

air means to their Watch: All which he in Person (as he used to do) could not see done at present, because that Night he was by that Device: could not see done at present, because that Night he was by that Device: dispatching Letters to the King, and to send away a trusty and ma- Messenger that he had light upon, before Break of Day : all their Therefore, he was earnest with them to have the more Care, carry them lest, the Enemy who were very strong in Horse, should sur- the Day prise them unawares. And the Commanders promising all ans, that Care and Diligence, he was so taken up with writing of is Girdle) Letters, that he slept not all that Night. And sending ever themselves and anon to the Captains of Guards (Men that were skilful selves into Soldiers, and known to be such in foreign Countries) such our, while uncertain Reports as were brought unto him of the Enemies against their Approach, they being deceiv'd, either by the Negligence of he passed their Scouts, or their own Misfortune, very confidently sent f Lothian him back Word, there was no Enemy in those Parts, nor in if betray'd the Country thereabouts. At the break of Day, some of of Horse the best Horse, and most acquainted with the Country, were o powerful sent out again to scout. They also brought Word, they had North and been Ten Miles about, and diligently examined all By- en he had ways, and rashly wisht Damnation to themselves, if they f Air, that could find an Enemy in Arms within Ten Miles. But af- although terward, it appeared when it was too late, that the Enemy trength of with all their Forces were then scarce Four Miles from especially Selkirk, and had lien there all that Night in their Arms.

Lesly, that Day that Montrose departed from *Jedburgh*, mustered his Men upon *Gladesmoor* a Plain in *Lothian* Shire ; where holding a Council of War with the Chief of the Cove- nanters, the Result was, That he should march to *Edinburgh*, and so to the *Forth*, that he might hinder *Montrose's* Re- treat into the *North*, and force him to fight whether he would or no, before he joined with his *Highlanders*. But Lesly, contrary to that Resolution, gives Order on a sudden to his whole Forces, to wheel to the left Hand, and to *Jedburgh* to march away apace ; every one wondring that knew not chartered his to march away apace ; every one wondring that knew not d close by the Mystery of the Business, what should be the Meaning advantages of of that Change of his Resolution, and his Intention in that an Enemy sudden Expedition; for they marched straight to *Strathgala*. al Terms But the Matter was, (as they afterward gathered from the E- t out good enemies themselves) he had received Letters, by which he had ace Horse perfect Notice, that *Montrose* being attended only with Five look well hundred Foot, and those *Irish*, and a very weak Party of to new-rai'd Horse, might very easily be surpris'd on the Bor-

ders of *Tweed*, if *Lesly* would make use of that Opportunity was offered him, to do his Business. Therefore, *Lesly* upon this Intelligence made haste thither, and (as I said) lodg'd within Four Miles of *Selkirk*. That *Traquair* sent those Letters unto *Lesly*, although it was the general Report, I cannot certainly affirm ; but it cannot be denied, That, that same Night he sent his Commands to his Son the Lord *Linton*, that he should immediately withdraw himself from the Royal Party, which with much Jollity he did. This was like themselves, being the ungratefulest of all Men, deserting their King, of whom none had better deserved, and staining their Posterity. And truly, that Morning being very Misty, gave no small advantage to the Treachery of the Enemy, whom at last, *Montrose's* frighted Scouts discover'd to march towards him in a full Body, at such Time as they were not above half a Mile off.

Montrose mounting the first Horse he could light on, gallops into the Field appointed for the Rendezvous that Morning, where he finds a great Deal of Noise, but no Order. The Cavalry being little acquainted with their Duty, and lying already dispers'd in their Quarters, where they dream't more of baiting their Horses, than maintaining their Lives and Honours, upon the first Alarm which they received from the Enemies Trumpet, ran disorderly up and down they knew not whither, but never came in the Fight. Yet there were a few, and those were for the most Part Noblemen or Knights, who made all Speed thither, and gallantly undertook to make good the right Wing : And they were not above Sixscore in all. Nor did the Foot who (were about Five hundred) make a good Appearance; for many of them looking about their private Business among the Carriages, by that unseasonable Care of saving, lost themselves and all they had. And, which spoiled the Matter, which was bad enough before, most of the Commanders were absent, and never came in the Field. Besides, the Enemy coming on so speedily, left them no Time for Deliberation. The Enemy therefore who were Six thousand (whereof most were Horse out of *England*) furiously charging *Montrose's* right Wing, were twice gallantly received, and repuls'd with no small Loss. Nor could they make that noble Troop give any Ground, or break through it, until at last, laying along those few Foot that withstood them,

opportunity, they broke in upon the left Flank where there was
 no Horse. By this, Two thousand Horse whom the Enemy
 had sent over to the other Side of the River, were gotten
 on the Rear of those noble Gentlemen, who, left being
 hemm'd in on every Side, and gall'd with the Enemies Shot
 at Distance, they should fall for nothing and unreveng'd,
 withdrew themselves every one the best Way he could.
 But the Foot who could have little Security by Flight,
 fighting a good while stoutly and resolutely, at last upon
 Quarter ask't and given for their Lives, threw down their
 Arms, and yielded themselves Prisoners: Every one of
 whom being naked and unarm'd, without any Regard to
 Quarter given, *Lestly* caused to be most inhumanely
 butcher'd. The Stain of which perfidious Cruelty (by
 which he hath so filthily blurr'd his Honour, if any he
 got in foreign Service) he shall never be able to wipe
 away. As for those that escaped out of the Battle, the
 Enemy pursued them no further, being busy in plundering
 the Carriages, where they made a lamentable Slaughter of
 Women, Pedees, and Cook-boys: No Pity was shown to
 Sex nor Age, they went to the Pot altogether. The
 Number of the Slain is not easie to be given, almost no
 Horse, and very few Foot (besides those that yielded
 themselves and had Quarter) fell in that Battle; which
 may appear by this, that they were no more than Five
 hundred in all; and before the next Day, Two hundred
 and fifty of them came safe to *Montrose*, all of them
 with their Swords by their Sides; so that there could not
 be as many more missing, and very few were taken
 Prisoners, and not until their Horses being tir'd, and
 themselves ignorant of the Way, they became a Prey to
 the Country People: Whom they, forgetting all the
 Benefits and Protection they had but newly received from
Montrose, to do the Covenanters a Favour, delivered up
 unto their cruel Enemies, to be made by them, acceptable
 Sacrifices to *Baal-beroth*, the God of the Covenant.

For all that, the Rebel Conquerors missed of the King's
 Standards. The one of them (which was carried before
 the Foot) was preserved by an *Irish* Soldier, a stout Man,
 and of a present Spirit when others were almost beside them-
 selves; who, when he saw that the Enemy had got the
 Day, stript it off the Staff, and wrapp'd it about his Body :
 And

And being otherwise naked, made his Way with his drawn Sword through the thickest of the Enemy, and brought it to *Montrose* at Night, whom he received into his Life-guard, and gave it him to carry in Token of his Valour and Loyalty. And the other of them, *William Hay* Brother to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, a hopeful young Gentleman (who succeeded his Uncle by the Mother's Side, *Douglas*, Son to the Earl of *Morton*, who having receiv'd many and grievous Wounds at the Battle of *Alford*, was rendred unable for that Burden) stript from off the Staff too, and carried it away with him : And conveying himself into the Borders of *England*, skulked there a while, till the Coast was a little clearer about *Tweed* ; and then through By-ways and Night-journies for the most Part, (being accompanied and conducted by his faithful Friend *Robert Tourres*, a stout Man and a good Soldier, who had been a Captain in *France* a good while ago) returned into the *North*, and presented that same Royal Standard unto the General.

And now at last, *Montrose*, when he saw his Men totally routed and put to Flight (which he never saw before) thought of nothing more for a good Space, than to die honourably, and not unreveng'd : Therefore rallying about Thirty Horse whom he had gathered up in that Confusion, he resolved by fair and honourable Death, to prevent his falling alive into the Enemies Hands. And, seeing he was not able to break through the Enemies Troops (who stood thick round about him) he gall'd them on the Front, and Rear, and Flanks ; and of such as were so hardy as to adventure out of their Ranks, many he slew, others he beat back. But when all that he could do, would not do his Business, as God would have it, this Consideration possessed his resolute and noble Spirit ; That the Loss of that Day was but small and easily regained, because but an inconsiderable Part of his Forces were there. That the Highlanders were the very Nerves and Sinewes of the Kingdom, and all the North was sound and untouch't. That many of the prime Nobility and Men of Power, many Knights too, and Chiefs of their Clans, had entred into an Association with him, who, if he should miscarry, would be suddenly ruined or corrupted, and by that means, the King's Party in Scotland utterly subdued. Therefore, he thought himself bound never to despair of a good Cause, and the rather, lest the King his Master should apprehend the Loss of him to be

greater

greater than the Loss of the Battle. And while these Thoughts were in his Head, by good Hap came in the Marquis of Douglas and Sir John Dalziel, with some other Friends (not many but faithful and gallant Men) who with Tears in their Eyes (out of Abundance of their Affection) beseech, intreat, implore him for the Honour of his former Atchievements, for his Friends Sakes, for his Ancestors, for his sweet Wife and Childrens Sakes, nay, for his King's, his Country's, and the Church's Peace and Safety's Sake, that he would look to the Preservation of his Person, considering that all their Hopes depended on him alone under God, and that their Lives were so bound up with his, that they must all live or die together. At last, Montrose overcome with their Intreaties, charging through the Enemy (who were by this Time more taken up with ransacking the Carriages, than following the Chase) made his Escape: Of those that were so hardy as to pursue him, some he slew, others (among whom was one Bruce a Captain of Horse, and two Cornets with their Standards) he carried away Prisoners, whom he entertained courteously, and after a few Days dismiss them upon their Parol; that they should exchange as many Officers of his of the like Quality: Which Parol they did not over punctually perform.

Montrose was gotten scarce Three Miles from Selkirk, when he having overtaken a great Number of his own Men that went that Way, he made a pretty considerable Party: So that being now secure from being fallen upon by the Contry People, he march't away by leisure. And as he went by the Earl of Traquair's Castle (by whose Dishonesty he did not yet know that he had been betray'd) he sent one before him to call forth him and his Son, that he might speak with them; but his Servants bring Word, that they were both from Home; notwithstanding, there are Gentlemen of Credit that testifie, that they were both within: Nor, did that gallant Courtier only bid the Rebels joy of their Victory, but was not ashamed to tell abroad (not without profuse and ill becoming Laughter) that Montrose and the King's Forces in Scotland were at last totally routed, his own Daughter the Countess of Queensberry, as far as modestly she might, blaming him for it. Montrose, after he had made a Halt a while near a Town called Peebles, until the Soldiers had refresh't themselves, and were fit to march, ma-

ny flocking to them from every Side, at Sun-set they all stoutly entred the Town; and by Break of Day next Morning (by the Conduct of Sir *John Dalziel* especially) passed over *Clyde* at a Ford, where the Earls *Crawford* and *Airly* having escaped another Way, met with him, making nothing of the Loss of the Battle, as soon as they saw him out of Danger. Nor was he less joyful at the Safety of his Friends, than that he had sav'd and pick't up by the Way, almost Two hundred Horse. But, although he was already secure enough from the Pursuit of the Enemy, nevertheless, he resolved to make what haste he could into *Athol*; that taking his Rife there, he might draw what Forces he could raise of the *Highlanders*, and other Friends into the *North*. Therefore, passing first over the *Forth*, and then the *Ern*, having marched through the Sheriffdom of *Perth* by the Foot of the Mountains, he came thither. As he was on his Way, he had sent before him *Douglas* and *Airly* with a Party of Horse into *Angus*, and the Lord *Erskin*, into *Mar*, that they might speedily raise their Friends and Dependants in those Parts; and had also sent Sir *John Dalziel* unto the Lord *Carnegy* (with whom he had already contracted Affinity) with Commissions to that purpose. Moreover, he sent Letters to *M'Donald*, to require him according to his Promise, to return with the *Highlanders* by the Day appointed. But above all, he solicited *Aboin*, both by Letters and special Messengers, that he would bring back Friends and Clients, who were willing enough of themselves, and wanted no other Encouragement, than his Authority and Example.

C H A P. XVII.

IT was towards the latter End of Harvest, nor was the Corn reapt in that cold Country, nor their Houses and Cottages which the Enemy had burnt, repaired against the approaching Winter (which is for the most part very sharp thereabouts) which made the *Athol*-men to abate something of their wonted Forwardness. Yet *Montrose* prevailed

so far with them, That they furnished him with Four hundred good Foot, to wait upon him into the *North*, where there was less Danger; and faithfully promised him upon his Return, when he was to march South-ward, he should command the whole Power of the Country.

Mean time, frequent Expresses came from *Aboin*, that he would wait upon him immediately with his Forces; and *M'donald* promised no less for himself and some other *Highlanders*. *Ereskin* signified also unto him, that his Men were in a Readiness, and waited for nothing but either *Aboin's* Company, who was not far off, or *Montrose's* Commands: About this Time, there were very hot, but uncertain Reports of a strong Party of Horse that were sent him from the King, whom, many conceived not to be far from the South Borders. But other News they had, which was too certain, to wit, that there was a most cruel Butchery of what Prisoners the Rebels had, without any Distinction of Sex or Age: Some falling into the Hands of the Country People, were basely murdered by them; others who escap't them, and found some Pity in them that had so little, being gathered together, were by Order from the Rebel Lords, thrown Head-long from off a high Bridge, and the Men, together with their Wives and sucking Children drown'd in the River beneath; and if any chanced to swim towards the Side, they were beaten off with Pikes and Staves, and thrust down again into the Water. The Noblemen and Knights were kept up in nasty Prisons, to be exposed to the Scorn of the Vulgar, and certainly doom'd at last to lose their Heads. *Montrose* was never so much troubled, as at this sad News.

Therefore, to the End he might some Way relieve his distressed Friends, being impatient of all Delay, with wonderful Speed he climbs over *Gransbain*, and passing through the Plains of *Mar* and *Strathdon*, maketh unto the Lord of *Aboin*, that he might encourage him by his Presence, to make more Haste into the *South*. For his Design was, as soon as he had joined his Forces with *Ereskin's* and *Airly's*, and sent for *M'donald* and other *Highlanders*, and taken up the *Athol-men* by the Way, to march in a great Body straight over the *Forth*, and so both to meet the King's Horse, and to fright the Enemy, upon their Apprehension of an imminent Danger to themselves, from putting the Prisoners

ners to death : For he conceived they durst not be so bold as to execute their Malice upon Men of Nobility and Eminency, as long as they had an Enemy in the Field, and the Victory was uncertain. And truly, they being doubtful and solicitous what might be the Success of so great warlike Preparations as they knew were in providing, did defer the Execution of the Prisoners. *Montrose*, upon his Journey found the Lord *Ereskin* very sick ; but his Clients (whose Fidelity and Valour he had had sundry Experiences of, even in the Absence of their Lord) all in Readiness, if *Aboin* did but do his Part ; for they depended much upon his Example and Authority. And now the Marquis of *Huntly*, after he had been lurking, for a Year and some Months, (it is hard to say, whether awaken'd with the News of so many Victories obtain'd by *Montrose*, and reducing of the Kingdom, or by the deceitful Influence of some bad Star) was return'd home. An unfortunate and unthoughtful Man who, howsoever he would seem most affectionate unto the King's Cause (and perhaps was so,) yet he endeavoured by a close and dishonourable Envy, rather to extenuate *Montrose's* Glory, than to outvie it. Which, seeing it was not for his Credit openly to profess, even before his own Men (who were sufficient Witnesses of *Montrose's* admirable Virtues) left by that, he should discover some Symptoms of a Heart alienated from the King ; yet he gave out, that for the Time to come, he would take upon himself the Conduct of that War against the Rebels ; therefore, he commanded his Tenants, and advised his Friends and Neighbours, scarce without Threats, to fight under no Command but his own. And when they replied, *What shall we then answer to the Commands of the Marquis of Montrose, whom the King hath declared General-Governor of the Kingdom, and General of the Army ?* He made Answer, *That he himself would not be wanting to the King's Service ; but however, it concerned much both his and their Honour, that the King and all Men should know what Assistance they had given him, which could not otherwise be done than by serving in a Body by themselves.* Moreover, he fell to magnify his own Power, and to undervalue *Montrose's* ; to extol unto the Skies, the noble Acts of his Ancestors, (Men indeed worthy of all Honour,) to tell them, *That the Gordons Power had been formidable to their Neighbours for many Ages*

bygone

bygone, and was so yet. That it was most unjust, that the Achievements gotten with their Blood and Prowess, should be accounted upon another Man's (meaning Montrose's) Score : But, for the Future he would take a Course, that neither the King should be defrauded of the Service of the Gordons, nor the Gordons of their deserved Honour, Favour, and Reward.

All these Things, the simpler Sort took to be spoken upon all the Grounds of Equity and Honour in the World ; but as many as were understanding Men, and knew better the Disposition of the Person, saw through those Expressions, a Mind too rancorous, and altogether indispos'd towards Montrose ; and that his Aim was to fetch off as many as he could from him, not only to the utter Ruine of the King and Kingdom, but even to his own Destruction, which (God knows) the sad Event made too manifest. Nor were there wanting amongst them, desperate Men and of a good Fore-sight, who condemned this Counsel of his as unwise, unseasonable, and pernicious, even to himself. For they considered with themselves, That he never had any Design, that did not miscarry either by bad Play or bad Luck. That Businesses were better carried by Montrose, and it was ill to make a Faction upon the poor Pretence of his carrying away the Honour of it. For, if Huntly join'd his Forces, and communicated his Counsels to Montrose, he should not be only able to defend himself, but subdue his Enemies, and gain unto himself the everlasting Honour of being one of the King's Champions ; but if he should make a Breach in that manner, it would prove not only dishonourable but destructive to him. That Montrose (it could not be denied) had got many and eminent Victories with the Assistance of the Huntlies, but they had done nothing of Note without him. Therefore, they earnestly desired him, constantly to adhere unto the King's Lieutenant, which, as it would be both acceptable and advantageous to the King, so it would be well taken with good Men, and honourable to himself. Nor did some of them fear to profess openly, that they would yield their Duty and Service to Montrose, if Huntly should stand out in his Humour ; and they were as good as their Words. But, he refusing the Advice of his Friends, resolved whatever came on't, to run counter to Montrose ; nor did Montrose ever propose any Thing, though never so just or honourable, or advantageous, which he would not cross or reject. And if at any Time, Montrose condescended to his Opi-

nion (which he did often and of Purpose) he would presently change his Mind, seeming to comply with him sometimes before his Face, but always averse unto him behind his Back, and indeed scarce well agreeing with his own self.

For all this, *Aboin* being at that Time solicited by many Expresses from *Montrose*, and the Importunity of his own Friends (that he might be some way as good as his Word) met him with a considerable Party at *Drumminnor*, a Castle of the Lord *Forbes's*. He brought with him Fifteen hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse, all chearful and ready to undergo any Hazard under the Command of *Montrose*. And truly, as soon as ever they met, *Aboin* freely protested he would carry those Men that he had, whithersoever the Lord Governor should lead him: But there were many more behind [which for his Scantness of Time he had not got together] which his Brother *Lewis* would bring him. *Montrose* extolling highly his Fidelity and Pains, turned back again almost the same Way he came; that taking up the Lord *Ereskin's*, and the *Mar* Forces by the Way, and climbing over *Grainsbain*, he might fall down into *Athol* and *Angus*, not doubting within a Fortnight to be able to pass over the *Forth* with a great Army. The first Day's Journey, *Aboin* and his Men marched with a good Will; but the next Night, his Brother *Lewis* (whom *Montrose* had placed under the Command of the Earl of *Crawford*) conveyed himself homewards with a strong Party of Horse, making, as if he meant to encounter some Troops of the Enemy, and carried along with him as many Soldiers as he could get, upon a Pretence of a Guard. *Crawford* returning, brought Word that *Lewis* was gone home, but would be back again next Day, for so he had made him believe though he intended nothing less than to come back, a Youth liable to Censure on more Accounts than that. But, when upon the 30 Day they came to *Alford*, it was observed that *Aboin's* Men were slow to stand to their Colours, that they loitered in their March, that their Ranks were thin and disorder'd, and that they ran away by whole Companies almost every Night: And at last, their Commander *Aboin* himself was not ashamed to desire to be excused, and to have Leave to depart. When all Men wondred, and desired to know what might be the Reason of that sudden Alteration of his Resolution, he pleaded his Father's Commands, which he was oblig'd

presently obliged in no Case to disobey ; and that his Father had not sent
 sometimes him such Directions without just Occasion ; for the Enemies Forces
 behind his lay in lower Mar, and would be presently upon their Backs, if
 in self. they were deprived of the Protection of their own Men : And
 by many that it was unexcusable Folly for him to carry his Men another
 his own way, when his own Country was in so much Danger. Montrose
 Word) reply'd, That it was most certain that only a few Troops of Horse
 Castle of kept within Aberdeen, that they had no Foot at all, and those
 hundred few Horse, nor durst nor could do the Country any harm ; and
 ready to there was no doubt, but upon the first Alarm of his Approach,
 Montrose, their Commanders would send for those also to secure the Low-
 tested he lands. Besides, that it would be much more to the Marquis of
 the Lord Huntly's Advantage, if the Seat of War were removed into the
 ny more Enemies Country than be kept up in his own : And upon that
 got to Score, there was more need to make Haste into the South, that
 n. Mon they might save the North from the Burden of the Armies. He
 l back added moreover, That he daily expected Aids out of Eng-
 g up the land, which could by no means join with him except they
 d climb met them on the South-side of the Forth. And at last, with
 ad Angus, much Resentment he represented unto him, the Condition of
 oals over the Prisoners (who were many of them Huntly's own Kindred,
 ney, A Allys or Friends who would all be inhumanely murdered, except
 the next they timely prevented it. To all this, when Aboin had nothing
 faced un- to answer, he desired his Father might be acquainted with
 conveyed the whole Matter, and 'twas granted. Such were made
 making, Choice of to treat with Huntly as were conceived to be high-
 Enemy, est in his Favour, to wit, Donald Lord Rae, in whose Coun-
 he could try he had sojourned, and Alexander Irvine the younger of
 , brought Drum, who had but the other Day married Huntly's
 back a Daughter : And both of them were also much obliged to
 ough he Montrose, for their newly recovered Liberties. Rae being a-
 liable to shamed of receiving the Repulse, had not the Confidence to
 on the 30 return ; and Irvine (a Noble young Gentleman, and a stout,
 oin's Men who stuck to Montrose to the last) brought no Answer but
 oitred in his Father-in-law's ambiguous Letters, of which no hold
 disorder'd could be taken. Being desired to deliver what he conceiv'd
 oft every his Father-in-law's Resolution was : He professed ingenu-
 f was no ously he knew not what to make of him, he could get
 ve to de no certain Answer, but doubted he was obstinate in his fond
 now wha Conceit. Aboin, first declaring how sore against his Will
 n of his it was to part from Montrose, urged how necessary it was for
 ch he wa him to please his dear Father, who was sickly too : And
 oblige therefore

therefore more earnestly desired the Lord Governor to dis-
pense with him for a few Days, till he could pacifie his Fa-
ther ; and made an absolute promise, That within a fort-
night he would follow him with much stronger Forces. And
when he had often and freely engaged his Honour to do so,
he said, he extorted with much ado, and much against *Mont-
rose's* Inclinations, a Foreloof to be absent for the Time
aforesaid.

Aboin being returned Home, *Montrose* marched over the
upper *Mar* and *Scharfschiach*, and came down into *Athol*.
And thence (having a little increased his Army) into the
Sherifdom of *Perth*, where, receiving an Express out of the
North, he is put into new Hopes, *Aboin* having sent him
word he would be with him, with his Men before the Day
appointed. At the same Time, came to him by several
Ways, Captain *Thomas Ogilvie* of *Powry* the younger, and
Captain *Robert Nisbet*, both of them sent unto his Majesty
with Commands, that if he could possibly, he should make
all speed towards the Borders to meet the Lord *George Digby*,
Son to the Earl of *Bristol*, who was sent unto him with a
Party of Horse. The same Bearers, *Montrose* dispatching to
Huntly and *Aboin*, to communicate unto them those Instru-
ctions from the King, hoping by that means, that being
quickned with his Majesty's Authority, and the Approach
of Aid, they would make more haste with their Forces in
the vain Expectation of whom he had lost too much Time
much Time in *Strathern*,

About this Time, the Lord *Napier* of *Marchisoun* depart-
ed this life in *Athol* ; a Man of a most innocent Life and
happy Parts ; a truly noble Gentleman, and Chief of an
ancient Family ; one who equalled his Father and Grand-
father, *Napier's* (Philosophers and Mathematicians, famous
through all the World) in other Things, but far exceeded
them in his Dexterity in civil Business ; a Man as faithful
unto, as highly esteemed by King *James* and King *Charles*.
Sometime he was Lord Treasurer, and was deservedly ad-
vanced into the Rank of higher Nobility ; and since these
Times, had expressed so much Loyalty and Love to the
King, that he was a large Partaker of the Rewards which
Rebels bestow upon Virtue, frequent Imprisonment, Seque-
stration, and Plunder. This Man, *Montrose*, when he was a
Boy, look'd upon as a most tender Father ; when he was a
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to die his Father's most faithful Friend ; and now that he died, was no other-
 wise affected with his Death, than as it had been his Father's;
 Whose most elaborate Discourses, *Of the King's Prerogative*, and
Of the Rise of the civil Wars in Great Britain, I heartily wish,
 may sometime come to Light.

CH A P. XVIII.

MONTROSE, when he had waited for *Aboin* with
 his Forces out of the *North*, now three Weeks either
 on his March or in *Strathern*, and perceived that the
 Rebels began to grow more outrageous towards the Prison-
 ers, being impatient of further Delay, crosseth over the
Forth, and came into *Leven* : And he encamped upon the
 Land of *Sir John Buchanan* the Ringleader of the Covenan-
 ters in those Parts, expecting that by that means, lying
 so near *Glasgow*, he might fright the Rebels (who then
 kept a Convention of Estates there) from the Murder of
 the Prisoners. To which end, facing the City every Day
 with his Horse, he wasted the Enemies Country without any
 Resistance : Although at that Time, for the Guard of the
 Estates and City, they had 3000 Horse in their Quarters, and
 he not full 300, and 1200 Foot. Notwithstanding, before his
 coming down into *Leven*, the Covenanters, as soon as they un-
 derstood that *Huntly* and *Montrose* agreed not, and that *Aboin*
 and his Men had deserted him in upper *Mar*, as a Prologue
 to the ensuing Tragedy, had beheaded Three stout gallant
 Gentlemen.

The first, was *Sir William Rollock*, of whom we have
 had often Occasion to make honourable Mention ; a valiant
 and expert Man, dear unto *Montrose* from a Child, and
 faithful unto him to his last Breath, The chief of his Crimes
 was, that he would not pollute his Hands with a most abo-
 minable Murder. For, being sent from *Montrose* with an
 Express to the King after the Battle of *Aberdeen*, he was
 taken Prisoner by the Enemy, and was condemned unto
 Death,

Death, which he had not escaped, except for Fear of Death, he had hearkened unto *Argyll*, (who most unworthily set a Price upon *Montrose's* Head, and promised great Rewards, Honours, and Preferments to whomsoever should bring it in) and had taken upon himself to commit that Treason which he abhorred with all his Soul. By which Shift, having his Life and Liberty given him, he returned straight to *Montrose*, and discovered all unto him, beseeching him to be more careful to himself, for not he only (who heartily detested so high a Villany) but many more, had been offered great Matters, most of whom would use their best Endeavours to dispatch him.

The next, was *Alexander Ogilvie*, of whom we also spoke before, eldest Son to *John Ogilvie* of *Innerquharity*, descended of an ancient Family, and much renowned in the *Scottish* Chronicles. He was but yet a Youth (scarce Twenty,) but valiant above his Age, and of a present and daring Spirit. Nor can I know, or so much as conjecture what they had to lay to his Charge, but that new and unheard of Treason, to wit, his bounden Duty and Loyalty to his King. But there was no Help for't, but *Argyll* must needs sacrifice that hopeful Youth, if it had been for nothing but his Name's sake, for he bare an implacable Feud to the *Ogilvies*. The Third, was Sir *Philip Nisbit*, of an ancient Family also, and Chief of it next his Father, who had done honourable Service in the King's, Army in *England*, and had the Command of a Regiment there. Nor can I discover any Reason they had to put him to Death neither, (besides, that which is used when they have nothing else to say, that mad Charge of the new high Treason) except it was, that their guilty Consciences suggested unto them, that, that couragious and vigilant Man might take Occasion sometime hereafter to be even with them for the horrid Injuries they had done his Father and his Family. However, these Men suffer'd a noble Death with Patience and Constancy, as became honest Men and good Christians. And unto these, there are two brave *Irish* Gentlemen that deserve to be joined, Colonel *O-Chaen* and Colonel *Laghlin*, odious unto the Rebels only for this unpardonable Crime, that they had had many Experiments of their Courage and Gallantry. These *Irish* Gentlemen were murdered indeed at *Edinburgh*; but many more were doom'd to the like

Execution

Execution at *Glasgow*, had not *Montrose's* unexpected Approach within a few Miles of the City, had so much Influence, that it repriv'd them till another Time. The Lord Governor was very much perplexed with the News of these Mens Death; and it was a Question whether he was more vext at the Cruelty of the Rebels, or the Negligence, if not Treachery, of his Friends. For, besides *Huntley*, whose Forces he had so long in vain expected to come with his Son *Aboin*; *M^r Donald* also himself (of whom he had entertained an exceeding good Opinion) being often sent unto, and invited also by the Nearness of the Place, although the Time appointed by himself was already past and gone, made no Appearance of his Approach. Six Weeks had now passed since *Aboin* had engaged himself for the Northern Forces, and the Winter (than which our Age never saw sharper) was already, well advanced Besides, the Aids that the King had sent under the Command of the Lord *Digby*, were defeated: All which might easily have been salv'd, and the Kingdom reduced again, if those great Professors of Loyalty had not plaid fast and loose in that good Cause. Therefore at last, on the 20th of *November*, *Montrose* departing from *Leven*, and passing over the Mountains of *Taich*, now covered with deep Snow, through Woods and Lochs, whose names I do not at this Time well remember, crossing also through *Strathern*, and over the *Tay*, returned into *Athol*. There he met Captain *Ogilvie* and Captain *Nisbet*, whom he had formerly sent with the King's Instructions unto *Huntly*. And they bring Word, the Man was obstinate and inflexible, who would believe nothing that they said: And when they unfolded unto him the King's Commands, answered scornfully, *That he understood all the King's Business better than they or the Governor himself; and neither he nor any of his Children should have any Thing to do with him.* Moreover, he sharply and threateningly reproved his Friends and Clients, who had willingly assisted *Montrose*; and dealt worse with them than with Rebels. Nevertheless, the Lord Governor thought best to take no notice of any of these Things, but bear with them; and whiles he treats with the *Athol* Men for the settling the *Militia* of that Country, he sends again unto *Huntly*, by Sir *John Dalziel*, as a more fit Mediator of Friendship, who was to inform him of the Danger the King

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and Kingdom was in, and so of the present Misery that hung over his and all faithful Subjects Heads; and to make it appear unto him that it was not one's, but his and his Son's Fault, both, that they had not brought in the Supplies into Scotland which the King had sent, and that the Prisoners, who were gallant and faithful Men, had been so cruelly butchered; and that yet there were many more remaining that had near Relations to Huntly himself; and some also of the prime Nobility, whom the Rebels would cut off after the same Fashion, unless they were now at last relieved. And lastly, to pray and beseech him, that at least he would grant the King's Governor the Favour of a friendly Conference, promising he would give him abundant Satisfaction.

Huntly, although he answered Dalziel in all Things according to his wonted Peevishness, yet he was most of all averse to a Conference, as fearing (seeing he should have nothing to answer to his Arguments and Reasons) the Presence, the Assurance, and the Wisdom of so excellent a Man. But *Montrose*, as soon as things were settled in *Athol*, that he might leave nothing unattempted that might possibly bring him to better Thoughts, resolved, dissembling all Injuries, and obliging him by all good Offices, to surprise him, and be Friends with him whether he would or no; and to treat with him concerning all things that concern'd his Majesty's Service: Therefore in the Month of *December*, he forced his Way very hardly through Rivers and Brooks, that were frozen indeed, but not so hard as to bear Mens Weight, over the Tops of Hills and craggy Rocks, in a deep Snow: And passing through *Angus*, and over *Grainsbane*, drew his Forces into the *North*: And almost before he was discover'd, marched with a few Men into *Strathbogy*, where *Huntly* then liv'd. But he being struck with his unexpected Approach, upon the first News he heard of him, lest he should be forced to a Conference against his Will, immediately fled to *Bogy*, a Castle of his, situate upon the Mouth of the *Spey*, as if he intended to ferry over the River, and to wage War against the Rebels in *Murray*.

And now it comes into my mind briefly to enquire what might be the Reason, why *Huntly* bore such a Spleen against *Montrose*, who had never given him any Distaste, but had obliged him with Courtesies many times undeservedly. Nor could I ever hear, nor so much as guess at any other Cause but a weak and impotent (Emulation I cannot

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call it, but) Envy of his surpassing Worth and Honour. For I should be loath to say, That his Mind was ever alienated from the King, but only averse unto *Montrose*; with the unjust Hatred of whom, he was so possess'd, that he precipitated himself into many unexcusable Mistakes; insomuch as he desired rather all Things were lost, than that *Montrose* should have the Honour of saving them. And now being already puff'd up with an unbeseeming Conceit of himself, he was the more exceedingly, enraged against him upon the Remembrance of those Injuries and Disgraces he had heretofore thrown upon him: And that was the chief Reason (as I take it) that he so often avoided the Sight of him. For, besides what we have occasionally delivered, both the Father and the Sons, had put neither few nor small Affronts upon the King's Lieutenant; some few of which, it will not be out of our Way to relate:

The great Guns which we told you, *Montrose* had hid in the Ground the last Year, they digging them up without his Knowledge, carried away in a kind of Triumph, and disposed of them in their own Castles, as if they had been Spoils taken from the Enemy, and would not restore them upon Demand. But, even those *Montrose* had got in the Fights at *St. Johnstoun* and at *Aberdeen*, in the former of which there was never a Man present of that Family, and in the other, *Lewis Gordon* and his Men fought on the Enemy's Side. Besides, they so converted unto their own Use, the Gunpowder, and Arms, and other Necessaries of War, which were gained from the Enemy, and only deposited in their Castles, as in safe and convenient Store-Houses, that they would never make any Restitution of the least Part of them when they were desired. Moreover, *Aboin* upon his Return home after the Victory of *Kilsyth*, set at Liberty the Earl Marshal of *Scotland*, the Lord Viscount *Arbuthnot*, and other Men of Quality of the Enemy's Side, who were within his Custody, without acquainting the Governor of the Kingdom; and his Brother in Law, young *Drum* (who, by Chance was present) earnestly declaring his Dislike of it. Upon what Terms he did it, it is uncertain: But this is evident, that (besides the Affront done to the Lord Governor, and the Loss of *Dunnotter Castle*, which was of great Strength and Concernment in that War, and other Military Advantages they

they got by it) the Rebels would never had the Boldness to fall so cruelly upon the Prisoners, if he had but kept them in safe Custody. Further, by his own private Authority, he exacted Tributes, Customs and Taxes, (which the Governor himself had never done) upon Pretence indeed of maintaining the War ; but in Truth to far other Uses, and to the grievous Prejudice of the King's Cause. Last of all (which is most to be lamented) either at the Intreaty of the Enemy, or for small Sums of Money, they had enlarged the Prisoners, that had been taken in the former Battles in the *North*, and committed to Custody in their Castles. Nor would they permit them to *Montrose's* Disposal, though being Prisoners of War, he had reserved them for that only Purpose, by exchanging them to save the Lives of gallant and deserving Men. *Huntly* being pricked in his Conscience about all these Things, was always as afraid of *Montrose's* Presence, as of a Pest-House.

But *Montrose* for all that, passing by Injuries, and laying aside all other Matters, bestowed his whole Endeavours in the promoting of the King's Service. And to that end, he was resolved to intrude himself into his Company, though never so unwelcome, to insinuate into his Friendship upon any Conditions, to yield unto him in all Things, and to deny nothing, so that he might sweeten *Huntly's* imbitter'd Spirit. Therefore, leaving his Forces in their Quarters, he posted early in the Morning with a few Horse unto *Bogy*; and by his undream't of Approach, prevented *Huntly* of any Opportunity of fleeing or hiding himself. As soon as they met, *Montrose* forgetting all that was past, invited him in smooth and gentle Language to associate with him in the War for the Safety of the King and Kingdom: And gave him so full Satisfaction in all Things, that as being at last overcome, he seem'd to give him his Hand, and promised, That not only all his Men, but he himself would come in Person on the Head of them, and and be with him with all possible speed. Afterward, they laid their Heads together concerning the Manner of managing the War, and agreed, that *Huntly* wasting over the *Spey*, should make his Way on the right Hand by the Seacoast of *Murray*, and *Montrose* was to go round about on the left Hand, through *Strath-Spey*, which was at that Time

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Time of the Year a very tedious and difficult March ; and so the Design was to besiege *Inverness*, a Garrison of the Enemies, on both Sides : And, in the mean time, to draw the Earl of *Seaforth* either by fair Means or foul to their Side. That Garrison, however it might appear to be otherwise strong and well fortified, yet was very ill provided for Victual and other Requisites, which in that sharp Winter and tempestuous Sea, could hardly be had. And so now they seem'd to be agreed in all Things; so that *Abuin* and his Brother *Lewis*, with't Damnation to themselves, if they did not continue constant in their Fidelity and Service to *Montrose*, to their utmost Breath. And the rest of the *Gordons*, the Marquisses Friends, were surpris'd with incredible Joy, and made as much of their Lord and Chief, as if he had been returned from the dead.

C H A P. XIX.

MONTROSE supposing *Huntly's* Spirit at last pacified, and seriously inclined to joyn with him in the Prosecution of the War, marched with his Forces through *Strath-Spey*, towards *Inverness*. And the more to amuse the Enemy on every Side, he sent his Cousin *Patrick Graham* (of whose Worth I have had often Occasion to speak) and *John Drummond* of *Balloch* the younger, a Gentleman of approved Trust and Valour, who had often done excellent Service, with Authority and Commissions unto the *Athol* Men, that if any should offer to stir in those Parts, they should neglect no Opportunity to suppress them. The *Athol* Men being encouraged by their Authority and Example, shewed themselves very ready and chearful : And they wanted not long an Occasion to shew it ; for the Remainder of the *Argyllian* party, either by reason of a general Scarcity of all Things in their own Country, or being driven out of their Country for Fear of *M'Donald*, who was very strong, and threatned their Ruine, fell upon the *M'gregors* and *M'nabies*, who sided with *Montrose*. And afterward joining unto themselves the *Stewarts* which inhabited *Bal-*
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Widdir, and the *Menzieses*, and other *Highlanders*, who still followed *Argyll's* Fortune, were reported to make up some 1500 Men, and were ready to invade *Athol*, unless timely opposed. And truly they had already fired an Island in *Loch-Torchet*, after they had taken it by Force, and pillaged it, and besieged *Ample* Castle, which lieth on the Side of the River of that Name. Which, as soon as they had Intelligence of the *Athol* Men, being only seven Hundred in all, under the Command of the aforesaid *Graham* and *Drummond*, thought best to oppose them, before they brake in into their Country. They, upon the Alarm of the Advance of the *Athol* Men, raised the Siege of *Ample*, and retreated toward *Taich*. The *Athol* Men pursued them hotly, and find them in Battle Array not far from *Kalendar*, a Castle of *Taich*: For they had possessed a Foord, and manned the Bank on the other side, (which was fortified with a steep Hill) with a Number of Musqueteers. Which when the *Athol* Men saw, and perceived that their Forces were not so strong as was reported, for they had not above Twelve hundred Men, although they themselves were scarce Seven hundred strong, yet being heartned by the Gallantry and Encouragement of their Commanders, they were resolved not to stay to receive the Enemy's Charge, but to charge them. Therefore, they placed a Hundred good Soldiers over against the Enemy, as it were to make good the Foord on the other side, and the rest marched away unto another Foord near the Castle, that they might get over the River there. The *Argylians*, when they perceived the *Athol* Men so resolute, retreat straight towards *Stirling*. Then first of all, those *Athol* Men that were left below at the Foord, possess themselves of the Bank which the Enemy had quitted; after that, they fall upon the Rear of the Retreaters, cut off some, scatter others, drive others forward; and the rest of the *Athol* Men following hard after, put them all to Flight. Fourscore of them were slain, the rest escaped by flight, who fared the better, because that same Morning the *Athol* Men had had a foul and tedious March of Ten Miles long, and had no Horse at all to help themselves. So they having come off with Credit, returned home.

At that Time, the Rebels held their Convention of Estates at *St. Andrews*, which they polluted with the Innocent, and I fear, crying Blood of Men never sufficiently

to be commended. They had amongst their Prisoners, some very eminent Men, as appeared by the Hatred the Rebels bare them, (for they scarce fought the Blood of any but the best of Men ; but for others, of whom they were not so much affraid, they satisfied themselves only with their Sequestration and Plunder, (amongst whom were the Lord *Ogilvie*, Sir *Robert Spotiswood*, *William Murray* a noble young Gentleman, and *Andrew Guthery* a stout Gentleman and an active, whom they determined to put to Death in that City, to appease the Ghosts of the Men of that Province with their Blood, of whom it is reported above Five thousand had been slain in several Battles. Now, because they intended not to proceed against them by Law, but according to their own Lusts, they have Recourse to their old Shifts, and make Religion draw the Curtain over their Cruelty. To which purpose, they set up their Prophets *Cant* and *Blair*, and others that were possessed with the same Spirit, who roar'd out of their Pulpits, bloody Oracles before the People ; *That God required the Blood of those Men, nor could the Sins of the Nation be otherwise expiated, or the Revenge of Heaven diverted.* And by this Art especially, they provoked the Hearts of the People (otherwise inclined to Pity) to think upon them as accursed Things, due and devoted to Destruction, perswading them that they ought to have no Protection of humane Laws, nor any Advocate to plead for them whom God himself indited and accus'd. Nor did those excellent Interpreters and Deciders of God's secret Will, make any Scruple to sentence the Souls and Bodies, and all, of so great Delinquents, unto Hell and Damnation. And having by this Means blinded the People, it was easy for them who were their Accusers and Judges both; to condemn the innocent Men, who were destitute of all Patronage and Protection.

But *Ogilvie*, who was not only the most eminent of them for Nobility and Power, but also was a *Hamilton* by his Mother's Side, and Cousin German to *Lindsay*, pretending himself sick, with much ado, got so much Favour as to have his Mother, Wife, and Sisters suffered to visit him in Prison. Which, when he had obtain'd, whilst his Keepers, in Reverence to the honourable Ladies, withdrew out of his Chamber, he immediately put on his Sister's Gown

Gown which she had put off, and was dressed in all her Attire. She also put on his Cap in which he used to lie sick in Bed, and lay down instead of her Brother. At last, many Salutations and some Tears passing on both Sides, at Eight of the Clock in the Night, in the Habit and Likeness of his Sister, he deceived his Keepers, who lighted him out with Candles and Torches: And immediately departing the City, he took Horse (which he had laid for him, with Two of his Followers, and before Morning, was got out of Danger. But, when the next Day his observant Keepers had found out their Mistake, *Argyll* was so unable to contain his Wrath and Revenge, that he would needs have the noble Ladies (and the more noble for their Compassion and Adventure) brought in Question for it. But he could not effect it; for, by Reason of the Equity of their Cause, they found much stronger Friends than he could, of the *Hamiltons* and *Lindsay*, by whose Connivance, it is conceived by many, that all this Comedy was acted: But in a Thing that is uncertain, I shall determine nothing.

This cleanly Conveyance of *Ogilvie* out of their Hands, vexed the Rebels exceedingly, and made them almost distracted; whence it happened that they made a quick Dispatch ofrest. And the First that suffered, was Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, a Man of excellent Endowments, both of Body and Mind. Who being near unto his Death, bitterly lamented with many Tears, that the Carriage of his Youth had been much otherwise than it ought to have been. And when being ready to die, they offered him an Instrument to sign, wherein he was to testify his Repentance, he subscribed it without any more ado; and withall call'd God and his Angels, and the Men there present to witness, that if any Thing was contained in that Paper which was contrary to the King, his Crown, or Authority, he utterly disavowed it. Then, being absolved from the Sentence of Excommunication, under which he lay for Adultery long since committed, to the great Grief of the Beholders, he laid down his Neck upon the Block. A Man subject indeed to that Fault, but famous for his Valour and Soldiership both in Foreign Countries and at Home.

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The next, that was brought upon the Scaffold yet reeking with the Blood of Colonel Gordon, was a Man worthy of everlasting Memory, Sir Robert *Spotiswood*, one rais'd by the Favour of King *James* and King *Charles*, unto great Honours, as his singular Virtues did merit. King *James* made him a Knight, and a privy Councillor. King *Charles* advanced him to be Lord President of the Session, and now, but of late principal Secretary of Scotland. This excellent Man (although his very Enemies had nothing to lay to his Charge, through all his Life) they found guilty of high Treason; which is yet the more to be lamented, because he never bore Arms against them; for his Eminency lay in the way of Peace, not knowing what belong'd to drawing of a Sword. This was therefore the only Charge that they laid against him; That by the King's Command he brought his Letters Patents unto *Montrose*, whereby he was made Viceroy of the Kingdom, and General of the Army. Nevertheless, he proved at large, that he had done nothing in that, but according to the Custom of their Ancestors, and the Laws of the Land. And, truly he seem'd in his most elegant Defence, to have given Satisfaction to all Men except his Judges, (whom the Rebels had pick't out from amongst his malicious Enemies that sought his Death,) so that questionless they would never have pronounc'd that doleful Sentence, if they had but the least Tincture of Justice or Honesty. But to speak the Truth, a more powerful Envy, than his Innocency was able to struggle with, undid the good Man: For the Earl of *Lanerick* having been heretofore principal Secretary of the Kingdom of Scotland, by his Revolt unto the Rebels, forced the most gracious and bountiful King to the whole Family of the *Hamiltons*, to take that Office from so unthankful a Man, and bestow it on another: Nor was there any one found more worthy than *Spotiswood* to be advanced to so high an Honour. And, hence happened that great Weight of Envy and Revenge to be thrown upon him, which, seeing he was not able to bear out, he was forced to fall under.

And now *Spotiswood* being about to die, abating nothing of his wonted Constancy and Gravity, according to the Custom of the Country, made a Speech unto the People. But that sacrilegious Thief *Blair*, who stood by him upon the Scaffold against his Will; fearing the Eloquence and

Undauntedness of so gallant a Man, lest the Mysteries of Rebellion should be discovered, by one of his Gravity and Authority, unto the People, who use most attentively to hear, and tenaciously to remember the Words of dying Men, procured the Provost of the City (who had been once a Servant to *Spotiswood's* Father) to stop his Mouth. Which insolent, and more than ordinary Discourtesy, he took no notice of ; but letting his Speech unto the People alone, he wholly bestowed himself in Devotions and Prayers to almighty God. Being interrupted again, and that very importunately, by that busy and troublesome Fellow *Blair*, and asked, *Whether he would not have him and the People to pray for the Salvation of his Soul?* He made answer, *That he desired the Prayers of the People, but for his impious Prayers which were abominable unto God, he desir'd not to trouble him.* And added moreover, *That of all the Plagues with which the offended Majesty of God had scourged that Nation, this was much the greatest (greater than the Sword, or Fire, or Pestilence) that for the Sins of the People, God had sent a lying Spirit into the Mouths of the Prophets.* With which free and undeniable Saying, *Blair* finding himself galled, grew so extremely in Passion, that he could not hold from scurrilous and contumelious Language against his Father who had been long dead, and against himself who was now a dying ; approving himself a fine Preacher of Christian Patience and Longanimity, all the while. But all these Things, *Spotiswood* having his Mind fixed upon higher Matters, passed by with Silence, and unmoved. At last, being undaunted, and shewing no Alteration, neither in his Voice nor Countenance, when he laid down his Neck to the fatal Stroke, these were his last Words, *Merciful Jesu, gather my Soul unto thy Saints and Martyrs, who have run before me in this Race.* And certainly, seeing Martyrdom may be undergone not only for the Confession of our Faith, but for any Virtue by which holy Men make their Faith manifest ; there is no Doubt, but he hath received that Crown. He was beheaded at *St. Andrews* 20th January 1646.

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Sir Robert Spotiswood's Speech, intended at his Execution, but then not suffered to be spoken, now published according to the then dispersed Copies thereof.

YOU will expect to hear from me, somewhat of the Cause for which I am brought hither at this Time to suffer in this Kind, which I am bound to do, for clearing the Integrity of mine own Proceedings, vindicating his Majesty's just and pious Intentions, and withal to undeceive you that are muzzled in Ignorance, and made to believe, that you are tied in Conscience, to set forward this unnatural Rebellion, masked under the Cover and Pretext of propagating Religion, and maintaining of publick Liberty.

You have perceived by the Fact which hath gone before, viz. Tearing of my Arms, &c. that I stand here adjudged to die, by this pretended Parliament, as a Traitor to the States, and Enemy to my native Country. This is a Treason unheard of before in this Kingdom (against the States) a Thing of a new Creation, which I believe there be some would have erected in Opposition to the just and lawful Authority of the King, under which we and our Predecessors have been so many Hundreds of Years governed.

To come to the Particulars of my treasonable Demeanour, (as they esteem it) the main one is, That I did bring down a Commission of Lieutenancy from his Majesty, to the Lord Marquis of Montrose, with a Proclamation, for inditting a Parliament by the King's Authority, wherein the Lord Marquis was the Commissioner. Not to excuse my self upon the Necessity laid upon me to obey His Majesty's Command in a Business of that Nature, in regard of the Charge I had about him; I cannot so far betray

mine own Conscience, as to keep up from you my Judgment, of the Thing it self; seeing, it may both tend to the justifying of the King's Part, and your better Information, for lack whereof, I know many are intangled in this Rebellion unwittingly; and who knoweth, but God in his merciful Providence hath brought us hither, to be the Instruments of freeing you from the manifold Delusions that are made Use of to ensnare you.

I say then, It was just and necessary to His Majesty, to grant such Commissions, and by Consequence, an Act of Duty in me to perform what he was pleased to command me.

It is known well enough what Contentment his Majesty gave to the Kingdom at his last being here, both in the Affairs of Church and Policy; notwithstanding whereof, the World seeth what Meeting he hath got from us. When this Rebellion first burst out in England, all that he desired of us was, only to stand Neutral, and not no meddle between him and his Subjects there. Of which moderate Desire of his, little Recognition was made: But on the contrary, at the Request of these Rebels, by the Power of their Faction amongst us, an Army was raised and sent into England, to assist them against their own native King.

His Majesty being reduced to this Extremity, what Expedient could he find so fair and easy, as to make Use of the Help of such of his loyal Subjects as he knew had such an unparallel'd Display of alty in Horrour and Detestation? Amongst whom, that matchless Mirrour of all true Worth and Nobility, the Lord Marquis Montrose having offered himself, it pleased His Majesty to give him a subaltern Commission first; which he having executed with such unheard of Success, that his Memory shall be had in Honour for it in all Ages. His Majesty, for the better furthering of his own Service, and to countenance and encourage him the more in it, gave an absolute one, and independent thereafter, which is that I delivered into his Hands, by His Majesty's Command. Herewithal, His Majesty pitying the Miseries of this poor Kingdom (occasioned by the rebellious Stubbornness of a few factious Spirits) thought fit to give Power to the said Lord Marquis, to call a Parliament in his own Name, to try, if by the Means, a Remedy might be found against the present Evils.

And in all this, I see not what can be justly charged upon His Majesty, or upon me his Servant, who have done nothing against any authorized Law of the Kingdom, but have served his

faithful Prince

faithfully, unto whom by Trust and natural Allegiance I owe so much.

Whereas, I am declared an Enemy to my native Country; God be so propitious to me, as my Thoughts towards it have been always publick, and tending to the Good and Honour thereof. I profess, since I had the Honour of that noble Marquis's Acquaintance, I have been a Favourer of his Designs, knowing them to be both loyal and honourable. Besides, that I know his Affection to his Country to be eminent, in this especially, That he did ever shew himself passionate to vindicate the Honour of this Kingdom, which suffereth every where, by the strange Combination of this with the Rebels of another Country and Kingdom against their own Prince.

Wherein I concurred in Judgment with him, and thought there was no other way to do it, but by setting up a Party of true and loyal hearted Scotsmen for his Majesty; whereby it might be seen, that it is not a national Defection, but only stirred up by a Faction there, which for their own Ends, have dishonoured their native Kingdom, and disturbed the Peace thereof, in enterprising and pursuing of which Heroical Design, God hath so favoured that noble Lord, that he hath righted our Country in the Opinion of all the World, and discovered where the Rottenness lieth.

Thus far I am contented to be counted a Traitor in their Opinion that have condemned me, being fully assured, That God the Righteous Judge of all, who knoweth the Uprightness and Integrity of my Intentions, will impute no Fault to me in this kind; since to my Knowledge, I have carried my self according to the Direction of his Word, and the Practice of all good Christians, before these miserable Times we are fallen into. My Exhortation therefore (which coming from me at the Point I am at, will, I hope have some Weight) shall be this unto you; That you will break off your Sins by Repentance; and above all, free your selves of that Master-Sin of Rebellion that reigneth in this Land, whereinto most Part are either forced, or drawn unawares especially, at the Instigation of those who should have directed them in the Way of Truth.

It cannot be but a great Judgment upon a Land, when God's singular Mercies towards it are so little valued. He hath not given us a King in his Wrath, but one who for Piety, Bounty, and all Virtues both Christian and Moral, may be a Pattern to all Princes: But how little thankful we are to God for so great

a Blessing, our Respect towards him doth manifest? Yet, I fear there is a greater Judgment than this upon it, which occasions all the Mischiefs that afflict this poor Land, such as was sent upon Achab. God hath put a lying Spirit in the Mouths of the most Part of your Prophets, who instead of the Doctrine of Salvation, labour to draw their Hearers into the Condemnation of Corah,

God Almighty look upon this miserable Church and Kingdom, and relieve you of that intolerable Servitude you lie under; which as I do heartily wish for, on your Behalf: So let me have the Assistance of your Prayers, that God would be pleased to pardon all my Sins in Jesus Christ, and gather my Soul with Saints and Martyrs that are gone to their Rest before, So I bid the World and you, Farewel.

And this was the End (a doleful End indeed in regard of us, but a joyful and honourable one in him) of a Man admirable for his Knowledge of things Divine and Humane; for his Skill in the Tongues, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriack, Arabick, besides the Western Languages; for his Knowledge in History, Law, and Politicks; the Honour and Ornament of his Country and our Age, for the Integrity of his Life, for his Fidelity, for his Justice, for his Constancy; a Man of an even Temper, and ever agreeing with himself; whose Youth had no need to be ashamed of his Childhood, nor his riper Years of his Youth; a severe Observer of the old fashion'd Piety with all his Soul, and yet one that was no vain and superstitious Professor of it before others; a Man easy to be made a Friend, and very hard to be made an Enemy; and who being now dead, was exceedingly lamented even by many Covenanters. His breathless Body, Hugh Scrimzour once his Father's Servant, took Care to bring forth, as the Times would permit, with a private Funeral. Nor was he long able to bear so great a Sorrow and Loss: For after a few Days, espying that bloody Scaffold not yet removed out of the Place, immediately he fell into a Swoon; and being carried home by his Servants and Neighbours, died at his very Door.

Lastly, they give unto Spotiswood another Companion in Death, Andrew Guthry Son unto the most deserving Bishop of Murray, and hated the more by the Rebels for that. A Youth as well valiant in Battle, as constant in Suffering,

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and contemning Death. He also was threatned and rail'd at by the same Blair, but answered, That no greater Honour could have been done him, than to be put to an honest Death in the Behalf of so good a King, and so Just a Cause, which those that were present should see he embraced without Fear, and perhaps another Generation would not report without Praise. For his Sins, he humbly begged Mercy and Forgiveness, at the Hands of his most gracious Lord God ; but for that for which he stood there condemned, he was not much troubled. After this Manner, died with Constancy and Courage, a Man, who, if Almighty God had so thought fit, had been worthy of a longer Life.

And that now they might put the last Scene to a Tragedy, of which most Part was acted, after Two Days breathing, they brought forth *William Murray*, Brother to the Earl of *Tullibardine*, a young Gentleman, to the same Place. And truly, every Man much admired, that his Brother being in great Favour and Esteem amongst the Covenanters, had not interceded for the Life and Safety of his own only Brother. Some imputed it to his Sloth, others to his Covetousness, as gaping after his Brother's Estate, others to his stupid and superstitious Zeal to the Cause: But, even all the very Covenanters themselves, condemned his Silence in such a Case, as dishonourable and misbecoming a noble Spirit. But the Youth himself, being not above Nineteen Years old, purchased unto himself everlasting Renown, with Posterity, for so honest and honourable an End, Amongst those few things which he spake to the People, those that heard him, told me these Words, which he spoke with a higher Voice than the rest; *Account (O my Countrymen) that a new and high Addition of Honour is this Day atchieved to the House of Tullibardine and the whole Nation of the Murrays, that a Young Man descended of that Ancient Stock, willingly and cheerfully delivered up his innocent Soul (as unto Men) in the very flower of his Youth, for his King, the Father of his Country, and the most munificent Patron of our Family. Nor let my most honoured Mother, my dear Sisters, my Kindred or any of my Friends be sorry for the Shortness of my Life, which is abundantly recompenced with the Honourableness of my Death. Pray for my Soul, and GOD be with you.*

CHAP. XX.

THE Death of his Friends troubled *Montrose* exceedingly, as it had Reason ; but yet it was not able to break or shake his firm and settled Resolution. Nor did his noble and more than ordinarily elevated Spirit ever give greater Evidences of it self than now. For there were many, who being enraged with the unworthy Murder of their Friends, egg'd him on, being already sufficiently discontented, to a present Revenge. And whiles they too much favoured their Grief (although it was just) and seem'd to desire nothing but what was fit, to wit, To render them like for like : They wearied out the General with their many, and troublefom and unseasonable Complaints. For they must needs be angry, that their Companions, their Friends, their Kindred, noble and gallant Gentlemen, well deserving of their King, their Country, and the General himself, should be murder'd contrary to their Faith promised them, the Custom of War, the Law of the Land, of Nations, and of Nature, and all unreveng'd. And on the other Side, such Rebels as had been taken by him, to be kept, rather as in their Friends Houses, than in Prisons, to rejoice, to triumph, to laugh at their Sorrow : And therefore, they humbly desired such Prisoners might be tried as Malefactors ; nor would the Enemy be otherwise frighted from their unheard of Cruelty, nor the Minds of his own Men otherwise satisfied and raised up, whom he entertained with a curious Speech, commended them for the Love they bare to their Friends, and told them, *That the Blood of those honourable and innocent Subjects ought to be reveng'd indeed, by such a Way as became honest and valiant Men ; not by Baseness and Mischief as the Rebels do, but by true Valour in a Souldier-like Way, It concerned them so to tame, as not to imitate the Wickedness of their Enemies. Nor, if they considered matters well, was it Conscience, that those that were Prisoners with them, and so could not be accessory unto the Murder of their Friends, should suffer for those Sins of which they were innocent. The Faith that they had passed unto them, was a most sacred Thing, and to be kept in-*

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inviolate even by Enemies. Why should they make themselves guilty of that which they so much abhorred in their Enemies? The Time would come when they must give a severe Account of it unto the most righteous God, and to his Vicegerent the King. In the mean Time (saith he) let them set a Price upon our Heads, let them hire Assassines, let them send in their Instruments amongst us to murder us, let them make Promises and break them, yet it shall never be in their Power to make us contend with them by imitating their evil Actions; but we will vie with them for Bravery, and all manner of Virtue.

Now Huntly, who intended nothing less, than what he promised Montrose himself in Person, having passed over the Spey, and entred into Murray, trifled away his Time, and wasted his Strength without either Honour or Profit, a good way off Inverness. For, giving his Mind too much to Prey and Spoil, after he had wasted the Country, he heard a flying Report, That the Inhabitants had hid their Gold and Silver, and the best of their Stuff in certain Turrets, and obscure Castles. Which, whilst he assaults in vain, and could neither by Commands, nor Intreaties be taken off from his Resolution: The Enemy sending in Provision on that Side which he had undertaken to block up, relieved Inverness with all Things that they wanted: Which if he had hindred, as he undertook unto Montrose, the Garrison would have been shortly forced to yield. And Montrose having now received Intelligence, that Major General Middleton was come with Six hundred Horse, and Eight hundred Foot as far as Aberdeen, and was like to lay waste Huntly's & the Gordon's Country, sent Colonel William Stewart unto Huntly, to intreat him to return again unto the Siege of Inverness according to his Engagement: Or, if he did not approve so well of that, because the Enemy was advanced so near his Territories, he should perswade him to join his Forces with his, and to march immediately towards the Enemy, whom he doubted not with little Danger to overthrow. To which he answered scornfully, That he would look to his own Business himself: Nor did he need the Help and Assistance of Montrose, to drive the Enemy out of his Borders. At last, after ten Weeks spent in the Siege of a small inconsiderable Castle, and the Loss of all the forwardest of his Men, he was forced with Dishonour to raise the Siege, when he was never the nearer. And in Contempt

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Contempt, not so much of *Montrose*, as of the King's Majesty; he retreated to the *Spey*, without the Consent or Knowledge of the Viceroy, giving thereby a very bad Example to all Men, who began to come in thick and Three-fold, with great Eagerness unto the King's Party.

Amongst whom, the Chiefest for Wealth and Power, and Multitudes of Followers and Dependents, were the Earl of *Seaforth*, the Lord *Rae*, and from the furthest Islands, Sir *James M'donald*, Chief of a most powerful and ancient Family in the *Highlands*; *M'clean* also, and *Glengary* the Captain of the *M'ronalds*, (and many more) some of them were before in *Montrose's* Army with their Forces; others had sent for theirs. And by this means, before the End of *March*, *Montrose* might have fallen down into the Low-lands with a far greater Army, than ever the *Scots* produc'd in the Memory of Man. But the unexpected Revolt of so great a Personage, did not less encourage the Rebels to persevere in their Course, than scandalize and discourage honest and loyal Hearts. Whence it happened, that those whose Men were already come up to the Army, began to draw off, and steal away privately, and others to make Excuses for their Delay. All which put together, made *Montrose* cast about another Way. For he resolved (seeing he could do no good with vain, light, wavering and inconstant Men, by Gentleness and good Offices) to reduce them to his Obedience, by his Authority, backed with the Strength of Arms, and severe Penalties: And to that End, to force all the *Highlanders* and *North-country-Men*, to take up Arms, by marching in amongst them with a trusty Party of good Soldiers. For, he well knew that many Sheriffs, and leading Men in their respective Countries, and Chiefs of Clans were of his Side, unto whom this Course would be very acceptable. Nor did he question, but the chief and most powerful of the *Gordons*, being weary of their Lord's Miscarriage, would do him the best Service they could, if need was, though it ran counter unto *Huntly's* Design. However, he was resolved to use all fair Means, if that would do, before he would put them to the cost of that last and sharpest Remedy.

But, because *Inverness* was the most considerable Garrison of all the *North*, and the Haven there most commodious for entertaining Foreign Forces; he desired nothing more

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than to reduce that : Therefore, he surrounded it with the Forces he had. For the Enemy's Army, under the Command of *Middletoun* was above Fourscore Miles off, and *Huntly* and the *Gordons*, lay half Way between them in a Body. Therefore, *Montrose* dealt again with *Huntly*, to perswade him not to lose his Time, but (as they had agreed to join with him in the Siege of *Inverness* ; or at least to hover about the *Spey*, over which the Enemy was to pass, and to hinder their Passage, if they advanced to raise the Siege ; and if they chanced to get over, to join their Forces together and fight them. To all which he answered so disdainfully, that the Viceroy thought it high Time to despair of any Good from him, and conceived himself engaged to look better to himself, lest at last he should betray him. So that putting no Confidence in *Huntly*, he sent back Three Troops of Horse to lie at the Fords of the *Spey*, to observe the Motion of the Enemy ; and if they came, to send him often & certain Intelligence. And, they quartering themselves in the most advantageous Places for Scouting, were careful enough to observe his Commands ; until *Lewis Gordon*, *Huntly's* Son, who then commanded the Castle of *Roths*, play'd a more shameful Prank than any he ever did before. He assured those Captains of Horse, whom *Montrose* had set to guard the Fords of the *Spey*, that the Enemy lay very far off, and intended nothing less, than to pass that River and raise the Siege ; and therefore, he perswaded them (who took him for a most faithful Friend) to let alone their needless Guards (to which they had been appointed) and to come to his Castle to refresh themselves ; and with many Complements, invited them to a Feast which he had provided for them ; and they had no more Wit, than to trust him, and go. He entertained them with a huge deal of Courtesy, and besides, very dainty Chear, entertained them with good Store of Wine and strong Waters. And, with a great deal of Jollity and ceremonious Courtesy, detain'd them so long, till *Middletoun*, with a great Army of Horse and Foot, had got over the *Spey*, and had gotten footing in *Murray*. Which, as soon as he had Notice of, he at length dismiss'd them, and that with these jeering Terms ; Go now to your General *Montrose*, who will have a sharper Bout now than he had at *Selkirk*. Mean Time, the Enemy march'd straight and eagerly towards *Montrose*, and those

those Horse getting past them with much ado, came not much before them to *Inverness*, insomuch as they seemed to be but the Van of the Enemy, and *Middletown's* whole Army followed within Cannon Shot. But, as the Providence of God would have it, *Montrose* had Notice of their Approach another Way; and having drawn off his Forces a little Way from the Town, had got them all into a Body. And when he perceiv'd the Enemy to be much too strong for him in Horse, avoiding the Plain, he retreated with his Men beyond the *Ness*. The Enemy falling upon his Rear, and being handsomly repuls'd, kept themselves also close. The Loss on both Sides was very little, and almost equal. *Montrose* passed by *Beavly* into *Ross*, whither the Enemy pursued him; that taking him in the Champion Ground which was disadvantageous to him, they might compel him to fight whether he would or not. But, besides that the Enemy was much stronger than he, the Country People being treacherous and inconstant, and *Seaforth's* new raised Men running away by Companies from their Colours, moved him with all the Speed he could to save himself from the Enemy's Horse. Therefore, passing by *Lockness*, and through *Strath-glass*, and *Harrage*, he advanced unto the Bank of the *Spey*.

Montrose was resolved to proceed against *Huntly* as a public Enemy, unless he repented; but would try all fair Means first, to see whether it was possible to bring him into a better Mind. To which End, taking with him only one Troop of Horse for his Life-Guard, in all speed he rid twenty Miles unto him to his Castle at *Bogy*. And as he was on his Way, he sent one before to give him Notice of his Approach; and to tell him that he came thither alone, and without his Forces, to no other End, than to kiss his Hand, and to be advised by him concerning such Things as concerned the King's Service: And he was the more earnest to speak with him, because, he had newly received Letters from the King from *Oxford*, which he would let him see. But, *Huntly* being affrighted with the first News of *Montrose's* Approach, was so averse from the Presence of so gallant a Man, that in a Trice he leap'd on Horse-back, and with one Man along with him, ran away any Way, he car'd not whither; nor vouchsafed the King's Viceroy the Favour of a Conference or Entertainment. Which, as soon as *Montrose* under-

understood, he returned back those twenty Miles the same Day, being the 27th of May, and was as careful as he could possibly, to conceal this Frowardness and Unruliness of *Huntly's*, lest it should be a bad Precedent. But all would not do; for the *Gordons* themselves, and others of *Huntly's* Friends, being most of them very honest Men, and complete Gentlemen, told all, with a great deal of Indignation, and Detestation of *Huntly*, That by that Means they might acquit themselves from the Asperision of so unworthy an Act.

Nor can one easily say, How great Influence that Man's Example had upon other northern Men: The Earl of *Seaforth*, who had been but lately, and with much ado, reconciled to the King's Side, was conceived to begin to falter; and some say, That being still unsettled, he had then Under-hand Dealings, for the making of his Peace with the Covenanters, which truly I can hardly believe. And *Alexander M'Donald* himself, pretending, I know not what, although he had had often and serious Invitations, made nothing but frivolous Excuses and Off-puts from Day to Day. Which Carriage of his, gave Occasion of strange Reports of him, as if he, altho' he was a bitter Enemy to *Argyll*, yet trusted much to the Friendship and Protection of the *Hamiltons*; and therefore staid at Home, and look'd only after the Preservation of the *M'Donalds*, not meddling with publick Affairs. Which, when *Montrose* considered, he resolved, without further Delay, to make his Progress over all the North-Country and *Highlands*, with a considerable Party, to lift Soldiers, to encourage the well disposed, to reduce those that were refractory, by the Severity of the Laws, and condign Punishment, and to deal with them, as Men use to do with sick Children, make them to take Physick whether they will or no. And he wanted not fitting Instruments to promote this Design, who had earnestly laboured with him to take that Course.

While these Things passed at *Inverness*, *Huntly*, lest he should be thought never to have done any Thing by his own Conduct, without the Assistance of *Montrose*, besieged and took in *Aberdeen*, (which *Middleton* kept with Five hundred Men) but with more Loss to *Huntly* himself, than to the Enemy. For, besides the Loss of many valiant Soldiers, he gave his *Highlanders* Leave to pillage the City. But

But what Fault those poor innocent *Aberdeen*-Men had made either against the King or *Huntly*, let them judge who know that, almost all of them were eminent, and noted for their Loyalty. But, for the Enemy whom he took in Arms, who were both many, and of very good Account amongst their own Party, he dismiss them freely, without any Conditions, and look'd fawningly upon them, rather like a Petitioner than a Conqueror. Nor, when he had many Colonels, Knights, and others of Quality (who, by Chance, were found in *Aberdeen*) in his Hands, did he so much as think of exchanging any one of his own Friends for them, many of whom were Prisoners either in *Scotland* or *England*. But this was his Humor, being always more ready to do good for his Enemies than his Friends.

CH A P. XXI.

M*ontrose* being busy about his Design, on the last of *May* there came unto him a Herauld, with Commands from the King, (who, by I know not what Misfortune, had cast himself upon the *Scots* Covenanters Army at *Newcastle*) whereby he was required forthwith to lay down his Arms, and disband, and to depart into *France*, and there to wait His Majesty's further Pleasure. He being astonished with this unexpected Message, bitterly bewailed the sad Condition of the King, that had forced him to cast himself upon the Mercy of his most deadly Enemies: And doubted not, but, that that Command which was given him for disbanding, was extorted from Him by the Craft, or Force, or Threats of the Rebels, into whose Hands he had fallen. But, what should he do in that Case? If he obeyed, he must give over the Estates of his Friends to Plunder, and their Lives to Death; and if he stood in Arms against the King's Command, he should be guilty of that Crime he undertook to scourge in others, Rebellion. And, especially he was afraid, lest the Rebels should put his Action upon the King's Account, and use him the worse for them, seeing they had him in their Power: Of which the King had given him a fair Hint in his Letter.

Therefore

Therefore, *Montrose* resolv'd to call together all the Noblemen, and Chiefs of Clans and Knights, and others of Quality, that were of his Side; that a Matter of that Consequence which concern'd them all, might be discuss'd by general Consent. To which End, after he had received so many Injuries from him, he dispatched Sir *John Hurrey* and Sir *John Innes*, being Men of greatest Account in his Army, and (as he conceived) most in *Huntly's* Favour, unto him, to desire him to be present at that so serious Consultation, and referr'd unto him the Appointment of the Time and Place. And to tell him moreover, that *Montrose* was willing to come to his Castle if he thought fit. *Huntly* answer'd, That the King had sent him Letters also to the same Effect, which he was resolv'd to obey: That the King's Commands were of that Nature, as not to admit of second Thoughts, and after them, nothing was left for Consultation. When they replied, that that likely was *Montrose's* Opinion too, and that he was as ready as any other to give Obedience to the King's Commands, if they were not forced. However, it concern'd them all to provide in Time for the Safety of them and theirs, And, That the Credit and Authority of what they resolv'd upon, would be greater, even in the Opinion of the Enemies themselves, if they made a joint and unanimous Resolution. He made no other Answer, than, That he had resolv'd for himself, and would have nothing to do with any Body else.

Montrose therefore sends his Answer to the King by Letters, wherein he was very inquisitive of the Condition he was in amongst the Covenanters, and whether he conceiv'd himself safe in their Hands? And also, whether his Service could be beneficial unto him any further? And, if he was fully determin'd to have that Army disbanded, which fought for him (whilst the Enemy in both Kingdoms were in a military Posture, and crow'd over them more and more) what Course should be taken for the Security of the Lives and Fortunes of his most gallant and faithful Subjects, who had spent their Blood and all that was dear unto them for his Sake? For it was a lamentable Case if so excellent Men should be left to the Mercy of them that had none, not only to be to be undone, but to be murdered. To this he received no open Answer, besides some Articles which the Messenger brought, which were signed by the Rebels, with which *Montrose* was to be content. But, he in great Anger rejected

rejected those Conditions which the Enemy had made, being so unconscionable as they were ; and not vouchsafing so much as to treat with the Enemy, sent back the Bearer to the King, professing, that as he had not taken up Arms but by the King's Commission, so he would have no Condition prescribed him to lay them down by any mortal Man but the King himself. Therefore, he humbly besought the King, (if he thought it fit that he should disband his Army) that he would not think much to make and sign the Conditions himself, to which, though they prov'd perhaps very harsh, he promised absolutely to submit, but he scorn'd the Commands of any one else, whosoever they were.

The Messenger returning, at last brought with him Articles signed by the King's Hand, with Injunctions now the third Time, wherein he was required to disband without further Delay : And the same Messenger charged him in the King's Name, under pain of high Treason, to give Obedience forthwith unto the King's Command. And, besides his Majestie's Pleasure, there was another thing which hastened him, which was, That those that had engaged with him, had most of them privately, and by their Friends, laboured to make their Peace with the Rebels, which was evidently known by good Tokens of the Earl of *Seaforth* and others. As for *Huntly* and *Aboyn*, they did not only profess themselves open Enemies to *Montrose* : But also threatned to fall upon him by Force of Arms, if he did not immediately submit to the King's Authority. And *Artrim* being newly arrived out of *Ireland*, in the *Highlands*, without either Men or Arms, busied himself to draw away all the *Highlanders*, as his Kindred and Allies to himself from *Montrose's* Army, whom in Scorn he called the Governor of the *Low-lands*, making by this means an unseasonable Rupture, and a pernicious one to his Friends in those parts. All which, *Montrose* having well considered, he was forced according to the King's Command, to disband his Army.

And truly that was a most sad Day, in which having solemnly prais'd and encourag'd his Soldiers (as well as the Occasion permitted) he took his Leave of them : For although he bid them to be of good Comfort however, and told them he saw some Day-light of a blessed Peace, and that he did as much Service to the King by his present Submission, as he had done before by his martial Atchievements:

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Yet notwithstanding, they all conceiv'd that That was the last Day of the King's Authority in *Scotland*, and all of them believed for certain, that those Commands from the King were wrested from him, upon the Apprehension of greater Dangers to his Person, if he had not given them. And although some Provision had been made by Articles in writing for their Indemnity, yet they had rather have undergone the worst that could fall, than survive, idle and unserviceable Spectators, of the miserable Condition of their dearest King. And it was no little Vexation to those generous Spirits, to think what an unworthy Opinion Foreign Nations, and their own Posterity, must needs have of them, as if the *Scottish* Nation had been unanimously guilty of Rebellion, and Desertion of so good a King. Besides, their Sorrow was much augmented with the Consideration that their General, who was most valiant, most Successful, and therefore most beloved, should be taken off so unhappily from the King, from his Country, from themselves, and all good Men. So that his Soldiers falling down at his feet, intreated him with Tears in their Eyes, that seeing the Safety of the King's Person depended so much upon it, and he must of Necessity depart the Kingdom, he would be pleased to take them along with him into what part of the World soever he went; professing their Readiness to Live and Fight any where under his Command, and (if GOD would have it so) to Die too. And truly many of them were resolved, though to the certain Hazard of their Lives and Estates, to follow him even against his Will and Knowledge, and to offer him that Service in an unknown Land, that they were able to afford him no longer in their miserable Country.

By the Articles to which the King had consented, according to the Desires of the Covenanters, it was especially provided, That *Montrose* should depart *Scotland* before the first of *September*, and that they should find him Shipping, with Provision and all Things necessary when he went. These Things were transacted the first of *August*, and a Port in *Angus* designed for *Montrose*, whither they were to send Shipping, from whence he was to Imbark. And *Montrose* to prevent and remove all Occasions of Exception or Suspicion, being accompanied only with his own Servants, and a very few Friends, betook himself thither;

and waited for the Shipping. About this Time, his most implacable Enemies set abroad crafty and feigned Reports by their fit Instruments, wherein they confidently averred, *That the States of the Kingdom, (as they called themselves) would by no Means suffer that so gallant a Subject should be banished the Country: For they knew not how great need they might have of a Man of his Worth, especially, if the King who had cast himself freely upon the Affections of the Scots, could not get any Right of the English, but should be put to seek it by Force and Arms; and if it came to that, no Age had afforded a better General than Montrose.* And truly, that was the earnest Desire and Expectation of most Men, who were not able to dive into the Bottom of the Rebels Plots: But they had far other Designs in Hand, and another Game to play: For what their Thoughts were towards the King, the sad Event made too manifest; and for *Montrose*, they laid very unconscionable and unworthy Traps to catch him. For they did this, that if they could flatter him up with such vain Hopes, and entice him to stay in the Kingdom beyond his Time appointed, they might take hold of him upon the Articles, and cut him off with more Credit.

August was almost spent, and no News at all was to be had about the Shipping or safe Conduct; therefore, *Montrose*, (although he was resolved to be gone by the Day the King had limited) that he might the better find out the Intentions of the Covenanters, gave Leave to some of his Friends to deal with them for further Time. But when they brought him nought but uncertain and doubtful Answers, he had Reason to think they intended nothing but to delude and intrap him. Besides, (which made his Suspicion so much the greater) there came a Ship upon the very last Day allowed for his Stay (to wit, on the last of *August*) into the Haven of *Montrose*. The Master of it was not only a Stranger to him, but a most rude and violent Abettor of the Rebels; the Sea-men and Soldiers, Men of that same Temper, malicious, dogged and ill-condition'd, the Ship it self neither victualled, nor fit to go to Sea. So that when *Montrose* shew'd himself ready to depart, and bade them hoist their Sails as soon as they could, the Master of the Ship told him, that he must have some Days allowed him to Pitch and Rigg his Ship, before he durst adventure himself

himself to the Wind and Waves. And then making great Brags of himself and his Ship, he drew forth a Commission, which the Covenanters had given him, wherein he was required to Transport the Passengers to certain Places assigned by themselves, and to carry no Body else. Moreover, there lay great *English* Ships and Men of War every Day in sight, about the Mouth of the River *Esk* (which makes the Haven of *Montrose*) attending there in Favour of the Rebels, for their much desired Booty, that by no means he might escape their Hands.

But *Montrose* had sufficient Notice of their Treacheries, and wanted not some Friends of the Covenanters themselves, who informed him by frequent Messages, that the Sea was fore pester'd with the *English* Navy, and he could not escape safely either into *France* or the *Low-Countries*; that the Haven was upon the matter block'd up, in which he was to take Shipping, and therefore it was very perilous for him to go to Sea; that his Enemies look'd for nothing else, than that either by making too long Stay in his own Country, he should fall into the Hands of the *Scottish* Covenanters, or by going, should be surpris'd, unarm'd, and unawares by the *English* Rebels. *Montrose's* Friends that were with him were of Opinion, that it was best for him in so apparent a Danger to return into the *Highlands*, and draw his Men together again, conceiving that he had better trust the Fortune of War, than so perfidious a Peace. But he forbore to take that Course, especially because of his most ardent Affection to the King: For he was assured, if the War brake forth again, it would be laid upon the King though undeservedly, and so he should bring his Person into present Danger, perhaps as much as his Life was worth. Therefore being straitned on every Side, one Way with Treachery plotted against his own, another against the King's Sacred Person, he determin'd with an unalterable Resolution to bear all the Burden upon his own Shoulders: And therefore he withdrew himself not out of Rashness, as if he despair'd of Safety at the worst, but out of sage and discreet Deliberation.

For when he had smell'd out the Plots of the Rebels before hand, he had sent some a good time before to search diligently the Havens in the North, and if they chanced to find any outlandish Vessel, to agree with the Master for

the Fraught, and to appoint him to be ready to put to Sea at such a Day, and to transport the Passengers (which should be ready with him) by the Help of GOD into Norway. By good Fortune there was found in the Haven of *Stonhyve*, a small Bark of *Bergen* in Norway, and the Master was soon agree'd with ; for he was very glad of the Opportunity, having Hopes of getting. Thither, *Montrose* sent away Sir *John Hurrey*, *John Drummond* of *Ball*, *Henry Graham* his Brother, *John Spotswood* Nephew to that great Sir *Robert*, *John Lilly* a Captain of approved Skill and Courage, *Patrick Melvin* such another, *George Wiseheart* Doctor of Divinity, *David Guthry* a stout young Gentleman, *Pardus Lafound* a French Man, once a Servant to the noble Lord *Gordon*, afterwards entertained for his Master's Sake by *Montrose* himself, one *Rodolph* a German, an Honest and Trusty young Man ; and a few Servants more. And these he had pick'd out to carry along with him whithersoever he went, for this Reason especially, because he knew the Rebels to be so maliciously bent against most of them, that they could not be safe for never so little a while in that Country. And they, on the third of September, having a good Wind put forth to Sea for Norway ; and the same Evening *Montrose* himself, accompanied only with one *James Wood* a worthy Preacher, by a small Cock-boat got into a Bark which lay at Anchor without the Haven of *Montrose* ; and being clad in a coarse Sute, the Lord and Patron passed for his Chaplain's Servant. This was in the Year of our Lord 1646, and the 34 Year of his Age.

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S C O T L A N D,

Containing an Account of *Montrose's* Negotiations Abroad, and the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, from the Year 1647, to the Year 1650 Inclusive. This 2d Part being never before published, is now first done into *English*, from the *Latin* of the Right Reverend Father in GOD, Doctor *George Wisheart*, Bishop of *Edinburgh*,

Printed in the Year, 1720.

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ONTROSE having landed at *Berghen* in *Norway*, was kindly received, and highly esteem'd by *Thomas Gray* a *Scotsman*, Governour of the Castle there. A few Days after he travell'd by Land to *Christiania* the chief City of the Kingdom. This Journey was both difficult and dangerous, for he was obliged to pass over the Tops of rugged and high Mountains, frightful to look at, and always cover'd with a deal of Snow. Then, at *Malsfrand*, he went aboard a Ship bound for *Denmark*. For he was extremely desirous to see *Christian* the V. now of blessed Memory, then the illustrious King of *Denmark*, the Uncle by the Mother's Side of his Royal Master King *Charles*

Charles, and a faithful and sure Friend to him, *Montrose* and his Arrival in *Denmark*, found the King was then in Germany, therefore, with all speed, crossing the *Baltick*, he went thither, and taking this Opportunity, he passed thro' *Holstein*, and stopt some Time at *Hamburg* : For he foresaw that the Conspiratours among the *Scots* Peers, who were principal Officers in the Army at *Newcastle*, would with their Associates in *England*, soon agree in concerting Measures for ruining or lessening the King's Authority. And he us'd to say that he knew the Temper of those Men so well, that no Arguments would ever make him alter his Opinion of them.

Now he was perswaded, That if an Account of their Proceedings reach'd *France* before his Arrival there, it would contribute considerably to the Success of his Negotiations, and that their accomplishing of their wicked Designs would make him the more acceptable where he was to negotiate by the King's Order. Judging also that all the Princes and States he was sent to, being informed of their prodigious Wickedness, would be so much affected with it, as never to trust any more their insidious Promises, which had gain'd but too much Credit with them before.

Besides, he knew by former Experience, that he would meet with new Opposition at Court, and that the Court-Parasites, these Plagues of Princes, with their usual Cunning and Calumnies employed in Favours of the Rebels (to whom they were obnoxious) would endeavour by all Means to prevent his gaining the Queen's Favour, and would not allow him to be present at their Consultations, or understand the Method of managing Affairs : For they were afraid, that he discovering their deceitful Artifices, might frustrate the Designs of the Rebels, and they be deprived of the abominable Reward of their Treachery.

At length, receiving the melancholy News that Money (under the Name of *Arrears* due for the worst of Service) was pay'd to the Chief Conspiratours among the *Scots*, and that the King at the same Time was deliver'd up to the Brutal *English* : For by this Name of *Pay* or *Arrears*, they thought in some Measure to cover their Ignominious Villany. He made the best of his way to *Holland*, judging that the King's present Condition and his own Honour, requir'd he should shew himself publickly, and do something to-

wards

Montrose towards the Recovery of the desperate State of Affairs. For the more that these Saints endeavoured to crush that excellent Prince, and lessen the Authority of Kings, the more resolute and forward was he to assert and recover the King's Liberty and Dignity? For all those Men did, serv'd only to confirm the Loyalty, and increase the Fortitude of this Hero. *Mary Queen of Britain*, Daughter of *Henry the IV. King of France*, found *Paris* a safe Retreat indeed for her self, but all her Solicitations for Succours to the King her Husband were unsuccessful: For tho' the Case of King *Charles* seem'd to be the common Concern of all Kings, and that the Rebellion in *Britain* seem'd to be a base Pattern for other Subjects to copy after, and that it did particularly threaten *France*, yet very few Princes could be persuaded to send any Succours to King *Charles* in his Troubles. The *French* either not having forgot their old Feuds with the *English*, or because they thought *Britain* favoured the *Spanish* Interest, or being on some other Account disobliged, looked with Pleasure on the Miseries of *Britain*, and added new Fuel to the Fire they had kindled, which may perhaps one Day consume themselves.

The News of *Montrose's* being on his Way, thro' *Flanders* to *France*, had scarce reach'd *Paris*, when these diligent and artful Courtiers, about the Queen, who feared nothing so much as *Montrose's* Presence, endeavoured by all Means imaginable to divert him from that Design; for effectuating this, they pitch'd on *John Ashburnham* a Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, and sent him off with Letters to *Montrose*. This *Ashburnham* is the unlucky Man who was the King's Guide, and accompanied him first to the *Scots*, and then to the Isle of *Wight*. So soon as he met *Montrose*, he began to advise him to return forthwith to *Scotland*, and there to renew the War without Men or Money, Arms, Ammunition or Provisions, of Design, as it would seem, that being exposed to so many Accidents and Dangers, he might be ruined, and all his Service to the King signify nothing.

It was easy for *Montrose* to discover these Snares they had laid for him; so he made this Answer to that Proposal, that the Employment he offered, tho' very acceptable to him, yet as Things then stood, he did not see that it could be entred on, that he wanted all Necessaries for War, and

that it was not in the Queen's Power to furnish them, that the Affections of the King's Friends, even the firmest of them, were much cool'd by the late Orders for laying down their Arms, and that they were much weakned by the ill Terms stipulated for them, that the Rebels were Masters of all *Scotland*, and had recall'd their Army out of *England*, well disciplin'd and well provided, that *Huntly* was overpowered, and the dreadful Havock made of the *Gordons*, did so terrify others, that they would not attempt any Thing. Besides, he was commanded by the King (whom he could not disobey) to wait in *France* for further Orders, and that he was fully perswaded the Queen could not be of that Opinion, that the King's Orders should be so slighted and disregarded: But when he got to *Paris*, and pay'd his due Respects to her Majesty, he would reckon it a new and considerable Addition to his Honour, if her Majesty employed him, even in the most difficult and dangerous part of her Service.

These Efforts of *Ajbburnham's* not succeeding, he goes another way to Work, and with a great deal of pretended Concern, entreats the Marquis to mind his own Safety, to make his Peace with the Conspirators, and court their Friendship, preserving himself and his Followers for better Times; and he frankly engaged, not only to procure his Majesty's Allowance, but even his positive Orders to treat with the Conspirators on any Terms. *Montrose* reply'd, that there was no Mortal readier to obey the King's Orders in every Thing honourable or lawful, but that he would not obey even the King himself, if he should command any Thing unlawful, dishonourable or prejudicial to his Majesty.

The Archduke *Leopold*, was then Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*; with full Liberty from him, *Montrose* travelling thro' *Flanders* to *France*, came to *Paris*. One would have thought no Body should have been welcomer at the Queen of *Britain's* Court, than the Marquis of *Montrose*, but it fell out quite otherwise, by means of the Presbyterians, especially the Lord *Fermyn*, a principal Favourite, who took all Occasions to detract from *Montrose*, and tarnish the Glory of his gallant Actions. The Lord *Fermyn* bore a particular Grudge against the Marquis on this Account especially. When King *Charles* the first trusted himself,

and all publick Affairs to the Conspirators at *Newcastle*, that he might please them in all Things, and gain their Affections and Friendship, he commanded *Montrose* to disband his Army. *Montrose* represented to the King the Hardship of this, except he and others, especially Noblemen, who had done the King very good Service, were provided for, and by an Act of Parliament, having the Royal Assent, they were secur'd in their Lives, Honours and Fortunes, which most unjustly they had been deprived of.

This was very ill taken, and opposed by *Argyll* and the other Rebels that were at open Enmity with *Montrose*, and dreaded his Conduct and Courage; for they were gaping after his Fortune, and desirous to enrich themselves by his Forfeiture. The good King would willingly have granted these just Desires of *Montrose*, but he saw it was a Matter of the last Consequence to attempt the wresting of any Thing out of their Hands against their Will: Therefore, applying to *Montrose*, he entreated he might not insist on these Demands which would expose his Sovereign to imminent Danger, and most graciously promised that he would shew a special Concern for him, if he was restored to his Liberty, and the Administration of the Government, and that in the mean Time he had taken care of his Honour and Titles, and that every Thing needful should be provided for him, advising him to go to *France* as his Ambassador Extraordinary to the most Christian King, and acquainting him that he had already dispatched his Commission, and Instructions; and that nothing should be wanting to maintain the Dignity of his Embassy, till he, by the Blessing of GOD, should recover his just Authority, and recall *Montrose* to his own Country. This was very disobliging to the Lord *Fermyn*, who was then Ambassador in *France*; for he, with a strong Hand, carried all the Profits and Honours that were to be got at Court; and therefore was mightily afraid he might suffer somewhat in both, by the interveening of so great a Man as *Montrose*. Therefore, by the same Court Tricks by which he had lately got the Earl of *Norwich* removed from that Office, he endeavoured to prevent *Montrose's* entring on it.

Montrose expected, that first of all the Commission and Instructions would be conveyed to him, but he was told they had heard nothing of them at the Queen's Court, and that

no Orders about them were come to their Hands. However *Ashburnham* told him quietly, that such was the King's Intention, that it was absolutely certain the Court knew it to be so, and that he himself had been dispatch'd to *France* for that Purpose three Months before ; but that *Fermyn* by his Address, Application and Interest at Court got every Thing rejected that seemed to lessen his Power, or obstruct his Profit.

Montrose knew well enough that the King's Commands, and his most reasonable Requests were neglected and despis'd , but his generous Soul could not endure to lose Time in Court Contentions : Therefore addressing the Queen, he humbly entreated she would be graciously pleased to tell him if he could be any way serviceable to his Sovereign, for that now he was to obey only her Orders, the King her Husband being in the Hands of his Enemies, that he would with all due Respect receive her Commands, and obey them with the utmost Fidelity and Application, spend his Blood, and venture his Life in the Service. The Queen with a heavy Heart answered, without explaining her self sufficiently on the Head : For as often as she was allowed to follow her own Inclinations, she was very much dispos'd to encourage and advance this noble Person, who of all the King's Subjects had done him the most valuable Service ; but being inveigled by the Artifices of the Courtiers who vaunted of the Power and Riches of the *Presbyterians*, and talk'd of them to the Queen, sometimes in a fawning, at other times in a menacing Way, she was forced into quite other Measures, and perplexed with various, and sometimes contradictory Sentiments. *Montrose* was always of Opinion that something behooved to be attempted, that the Rebels might be frightened from doing any Thing inconsistent with the King's Safety, and the Queen was much of the same Mind, but the Courtiers took Care that the Money necessary for providing Arms, and paying the Soldiers employed in an Expedition should not be furnished. *Montrose* at the same Time offer'd with a thousand armed Men to make a Descent on *Britain*, these, he thought, would be sufficient for encouraging the Captive King's loyal Subjects to rise in Arms, he knew that they heartily abhorred the Wickedness of the Rebels, and were bent on revenging the Affronts and Injuries done to their Sovereign ; as for Money, he demanded only six thousand Pistoles : That he might the more effectually

However, he effectually persuaded the Queen, he offered to pledge his Word, his Life, and what he reckoned dearest to him in this World, his Honour, that this would be serviceable to the King : But all this was to no Purpose ; for all that was in the Queen's Treasure was by far too little for the Profuseness and Luxury of the ravenous Courtiers.

In the mean Time these plotting Rebels, who first engaged in a villainous Covenant against the King, who arm'd the *Scots* against him, and encouraged also the *English*, who were living peaceably, to follow their impious Example, who brought the King under so many Hardships, and at length by the Assistance of their Associates in *England* to inevitable Ruin. These very Rebels, without *Montrose's* Knowledge, put a notorious impudent Trick on the Queen. They pretended that they were vex'd that the King should be a Captive, that the *English* were to blame, who had promis'd that the King should not be maltreated, and that all concerning him should be managed by the Advice of the *Scots* Covenanters, that they had not kept their Promise ; and that therefor it was their Judgment to engage in a just War for restoring the King to his Liberty and former Dignity, providing they had the Queen's Assistance, and that she would ratify and confirm by her Authority what they design'd for the King's Service : Therefore they humbly begged of her that she would employ the transcendent Interest she deservedly had with the King her Husband, by advising and persuading him to trust himself and all his Concerns to their Care, Conduct and Fidelity, promising to leave nothing unattempted that might be for his Service, that they would spare no Pains, spend their Blood, and never lay down their Arms till he were settled again on the Throne of his Ancestors, and restored to the Royal Dignity. The good, but too credulous Queen being, as it were, bewitched with these fair Words, was easily persuaded to trust these Villains, and to promise (which she afterwards performed) her Assistance. All this she would have concealed from *Montrose*, but he was not long ignorant of these private Negotiations ; when there was a Necessity of divulging them, the Queen declar'd to him, that she was so defeat with the Troubles she had suffered, and frightened at the Thoughts of the greater Calamities that were suddenly expected, and, as it were, just hanging over their

their Head, and that the King himself was so overpower'd, that they were obliged to have Recourse to the Covenanters, and use them as a Plank after a Shipwrack, that the King and she were fixt, and not to be moved from this Resolution, to entrust themselves, and all their Affairs with them.

Montrose, who could never be brought to believe that these Traitors, involv'd in so many Crimes, would deal honestly with the King, was ready to break out into Tears, when he saw his beloved Sovereign, by trusting the insidious Promises of his Enemies, plunge himself into an Abyss of Misery: With a Countenance somewhat compos'd, he address'd the Queen in this Manner, *It is your Majesty's Right to determine what is most for your Service, and your Subjects are bound quickly to obey your Commands; Your Majesty shall find none of your Subjects more obedient than I am, yet I reckon it my Duty timeously to premonish your Majesty of the Evils that threaten the King and Kingdoms, if he takes that Course, and to inform you, and shew you the most proper Remedies, now at least when Things are brought to this Extremity. Your Majesty, I suppose, knows well enough, that those honest Men you are now to trust your self with, have shown an implacable Hatred, and used all Manner of Cruelty towards the King, they were the first that laid violent Hands on him, and committed him to Prison, they refused him Passage into Scotland, betrayed him to the English, and continue still to butcher your Loyal Subjects, whom they are daily sacrificing, to their Avarice and Delusions. It is not probable that the most abandon'd Rebels will repent. Their Avarice, Ambition and Consciousness of former Guilt will rather push them on to the same Measures they took before, because they know they can never be sure to go unpunish'd, unless their injur'd Sovereign be utterly ruined.*

The only Way I can think of to muzzle and put a Hook in to the Nose of these furious Rebels, is, to allow me (who can never expect to be in Friendship with them, because of my former faithful Service to the King) by His Majesty's Authority, and having his Commission, to raise an Army, and choose such of my Countrymen the Scots, who justly suspecting the Loyalty of the Covenanters, will never heartily join with them, or fight under them: Let these Forces be Succours, as it were, to those that have already enter'd England, providing they behave as

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becomes good Subjects; but if, according to their seditious Tempers (which is much to be feared) they shall attempt to raise new Troubles, and betray the King a second Time, then the Forces under me will be a Terrour to them, and be able either to keep them to their Duty, or reduce them when they mutiny or revolt. As for me, I shall willingly yield to them the Command, Honours, Thanks and Rewards that may be expected, if they do but at length in good earnest heartily return to their Allegiance, and reckon all my Labours, Losses and Dangers sufficiently recompensed, if they are serviceable to my Sovereign the best of Kings. The Presbyterians by their Promises and Solicitations, their Fawnings and Threatnings, had so deluded the Queen with vain Hopes, that she slighted the wiser Counsels of Montrose, and entrusted not only her own Safety, but even that of the King her Husband, and the Princes her Children, solely to those who had been the Authors of all the former Troubles, and were design'd to bring on more numerous and more grievous Calamities. Montrose, that he might not be thought an impious Partaker, or unconcern'd Spectator of so great Villainy, desired, and obtained from the Queen to leave Paris, and retire for his Health to the Country.

C H A P. II.

BEcause in the Sequel of this History, we shall have Occasion often to mention the Presbyterians and Independents, modern Hereticks, with modern Names, it will not, perhaps be unacceptable to the Readers, especially Strangers; neither will it be foreign to our Purpose to premise a short Account of them. It is usual for those that leave the right Road, and the King's High-way, to fall on and wander in a great many different and cross By-paths. This we we find, by Experience, to be the Case of the Modern Fanaticks, who under Pretence of the Purity of Religion, not only disturb, but even destroy both Church and State. For after they had forced away the only lawful Governours of the Church, trampled on the ancient Church Discipline, deform'd the Divine Worship, and most impiously

ously dethroned the King, and deprived the subordinate Civil Magistrates, they broke into innumerable Sects and Parties, distinguished by a world of Names, and a world of Mischief they have done. However, they may be ranked under these two Heads, the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, which comprehend all the rest. The former, the *Presbyterians*, affect to be so called, from a certain modern Model of Church Government, and from their Ecclesiastical Discipline, or rather Torture, unknown to former Ages; this they recommend to the Vulgar under the specious, but false Name of the *Presbytery*: For their *Presbytery* is a Meeting made up of such of the People as are most zealous in the *Presbyterian* Way; Ploughmen, Chapmen, Seamen, Coalliers, Salters, Coblers, Smiths, Wrights, Weavers, and the like, who never entred into Ecclesiastical Orders, or were sufficiently instructed in the first Principles of Religion; yet they have the same Right to vote in their *Presbytery*, which their Ministers themselves have; they are elected yearly, and dignified with the Title of *Lay*, or *Ruling Elders*. They pretend to maintain a Parity among their Pastors; but it is a meer Pretence, and in Fact they deny it; for there is scarce a popular Man among them who does not lord it not only over his Brethren, but will insult the Peers of the Land, nay the King himself. Every Thing that concerns the Church or Religion is brought before the *Presbytery*, and under the Notion of Scandal, Offence, or being in *Ordine ad Spiritualia*, all Matters in Church and State are brought, without the Knowledge, and oft against the Will of the Supreme Magistrate, before their Provincial Synods, or National, which they call *General Assemblies*, that are a Sort of Superior Presbyteries, of the same kind with those above describ'd. In these Meetings of theirs, they not only deliberate and debate, but even determine the most important and weighty Affairs of State; and if any shall be so hardy as to contradict or resist them, they thunder out their Anathemas and Excommunications, and deliver them over Soul and Body into the Hands of the Devil; and thus they not only terrify the poor Populace, but even the Nobility and Gentry also. They strictly discharge all others to keep Company, or have any Dealings with the Excommunicate; and thus with great Ease they separate Husband and Wife, Parents and Children,

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Children, Masters and Servants, the King and his Subjects. If any differ from them in any howsoever small Point or Circumstance of Religion, according to their Principles, he may be imprisoned, banished and persecuted with Fire and Sword, and even suffer capital Punishment; but they are most furious against those who deny the divine Right of Presbytery. If they bear any Grudge against any of their Neighbours, all his Words and Actions are so narrowly searched and scan'd, that very few can live in Peace or Safety by them. In their Preachments they vilify, insult and reproach to their Faces, and in their own Hearing, the Nobility, Princes, and even Kings themselves: And thus without being punished, they render their Superiors contemptible and odious to the People, and by their Rudeness to them, make their Court to the Populace, gain their Affections, have Influence on them, and make them believe that they are inspired as the Old Testament Prophets were. They pretend that nothing is done as it ought to be even in the Parliament it self, except it have the Approbation of the Presbytery, and alledge that Presbyters ought to be judged, in the first Instance only by the Presbytery, and that this Privilege is founded on the Word of GOD. Thus they maintain that the Magistrate has no Right to punish them, tho' they should raise Sedition or Rebellion against Him, except they are first condemned by the Presbytery. In which they differ far from the Reformed in *Holland*, the Classes in the *Palatinate*, and Consistory at *Geneve*, who honour the Civil Magistrate, receive His Commands, and punctually obey them. They on the contrair, slight contradict and oppose Him, and hound out the arm'd Populace against Him, whom they keep under dreadful Delusions, fettered with abominable Oaths and Covenants. In a Word, they are grievous to all Ranks of Men; they are self-conceited, proud, avaritious; far more cruel and intolerable than the ancient *Druids*, or modern *Inquisitors* in the Church of *Rome*.

To this Account of the Presbyterians, we subjoin that of the Independents, their genuine Off-spring, resembling in every Thing the *Stock* from which they sprung. I suppose they had this Name of *Independents*, because they will not own their Dependance on any Superior. For, Emperors, Kings, Popes, Bishops, Presbyteries, Synods and Councils, tho'

tho' Free and Oecumenical, they reject, condemn and anathematize, as Antichristian and Diabolical Inventions. As they separate from the rest of Mankind, as polluted and profane, so they are divided and rent into many Factions and Parties among themselves, which must necessarily befall those who break asunder all the Bonds of Unity and Society. However, they agree strangely in this, that they tolerate one another, and do not punish those among them who differ in Matters of Religion any other Way than by excluding them from their religious Meetings. For Treachery, Avarice, Sacrilege, Cruelty and Contempt of the Magistrates that will not subject themselves to them, they agree and vie with the Presbyterians. Holy Orders, especially the Imposition of Hands (of which the Presbyterians retain some Resemblance) they altogether abhor as a Magical Rite, and an Invention of the Devil. The People choose their own Ministers, and whom they prefer one Day, they pull down the next. In their private Meetings they regulate every Thing that concerns the Divine Worship, and the Ecclesiastical Government: Learning and Learned Men are the special Objects of their Hatred, as being Enemies of true Christian Piety. They never please that Preacher who does not pretend to be divinely inspired. In their extemporary Prayers and Effusions, much Talking, odd Gestures, Distortion of the Face and Eyes, loud Cries, and every Thing indigested and confused, are applauded and admired as the surest Signs of the Spirit : They are for the most Part Anabaptists, and both Sexes of them being adult, have been baptized by the Immersion of their naked Bodies into Rivers. Moreover, these fine Reformers have revived and brought on the Stage of the World again the *Arrian* Heresy, and the other like Impieties of the *Carpocratians* and *Adamites*, besides the Dotages and Obscenities of the *Gnosticks*. They think that Papists only, and those who worship GOD according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, ought to be imprisoned, forfeit, banished and prosecute with Fire and Sword ; yet they are more favourable to the Papists, than those of the Church of *England*. Tho' they call all others but themselves Hereticks, yet they are for tolerating *Jews* and *Turks*. They maintain, that by divine Appointment the People (by which, excluding Kings, Princes and Peers, they understand the meanest of

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the People) have Power of Life and Fortune, in which they agree with the Presbyterians, excepting in this, That what is by them in Words ascrib'd to the People, in Effect is possess'd by the Presbytery, to whom the People is intirely subjected.

From the first Rise of the Troubles of *Great Britain*, the Presbyterians, considering the Independents as their Sons or Brethren, were at great Pains to court them, because they were numerous, and expected they would be useful for subduing the common Enemy, so they impiously called the King. For they thought that these simple and foolish Men, as they reckoned them, would come over to their Party, or if they shewed any Reluctancy by Fraud or Force, would be obliged to it : Being deceived with these vain Hopes, on all Occasions they encourag'd and advanc'd the Independents. No Favour was refused them, they were chosen Parliament Men and Privy Counsellors, advanced to the greatest Places, and encouraged to aspire to the greatest Titles ; they were made Captains, Colonels, had the Command of the best Ships, were Governors of the best fortified Towns, and richest Colonies : But rising by Degrees to a considerable Greatness, their Patrons the Presbyterians began to suspect and dread them ; they saw, when it was too late, that they had cherished Vipers in their Bosoms, who, by the just Judgment of God, were to recompence them as they deserv'd. Thus the Independents deceived the most deceitful of Mankind, and prescribed Laws to those from whom they used to receive them.

The *English Presbyterians* being thus degraded and dispirited, have Recourse to the *Scots* their old Associates, and beg their Assistance, promising that most of the People, wearied of the Tyranny of the Independents, would join them, if they invaded *England*. The *Scots* inclining to a War with *England*, were not wanting to embrace this Opportunity ; therefore they laid the Matter before the Parliament, which was almost unanimous for the Expedition : But there were some Differences among them as to the Cause of the War, and the Command of the Army. Some were for loading the Independents with Treachery, and Breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, blaming them, That notwithstanding Episcopacy had been long before abolished, yet the Presbyterial Church Government was not established in *England*. *Argyll* and his

Party, who had brought over to their Side the most seditious of the Ministry, would have had this to be declared as the only Cause of the War. Others, among whom the two Brothers, the *Hamiltons* were the chief, tho' they own'd that to be the Principal Cause of the War, yet would have this added, That the King, contrair to the Promises given to the *Scots* at *Newcastle*, was unjustly detained in a base miserable Prison, whom they were resolv'd to rescue, and by an open and just War, restore to Liberty, and a personal Treaty (to use the Language of these Times) with his Parliament, whether the Independents would or not: This the *Hamiltons* were continually harping on, and pretended to be very concern'd about it, on Purpose that they might gain the Affections of the Loyalists, and get them to vote on their Side. *Argyll* with his humble Slaves the Ministers, these fine Reformers of the Times, would hearken to no Overtures for the King, whom they considered as hardned and obstinate in his Wickedness and Dislike of the Presbyterian Government; and therefore they were for disowning him, and giving him over to the worst of his Enemies. So the *Argathelians* appealed to the General Assembly, the *Hamiltons*, and their Followers, to the Parliament.

Presently after this, the Kingdom is rent in two. Two supreme Judicatories are erected; the one threatning the People with their Ecclesiastical Censures and Curses, yea Anathema's and Excommunication, the other with Imprisonment, Banishment, and Military Execution: The poor Populace, in the mean Time, is distracted between the two; and even the Peers themselves know not what to do in that Juncture; on the one Hand, they were afraid of these Civil Punishments; on the other, being deluded by their Teachers, they were no less afraid of their Ecclesiastical Censures. The *Hamiltonian* Party prevailing in the Parliament, procured a considerable Army to be raised, with Officers that were most their Creatures: Then they levy Money, provide Arms and Ammunition; in short every Thing necessary for hastning their intended Expedition, the Elder of the *Hamiltons*, much against the Inclinations of many, who suspected his Loyalty, is unluckily made Captain General of the Army. The *Argathelians* having most Influence in the General Assembly of the Kirk, procured an Act of it, condemning and censuring that Expedition, tho' approv'd and

and authorized by the Parliament. Neither did they only with these spiritual Weapons of theirs terrifie the Populace, but also stirred up great Numbers in the Western Parts of the Kingdom to rise in Arms. *Middleton*, not without some Danger, quell'd these cowardly Fellows, being undisciplin'd, and unaccustomed to War, tho' they were animated by their Teachers, whom they look'd on as inspired, and trusted much to their own Numbers. Many of their Ministers in their Warlike Accoutrements, who had been among the foremost in the Fight, were taken Prisoners; but *Hamilton*, who was courting the Favour of the Ministers, pardoned this Crime of theirs, and the other treasonable Acts they had been guilty of before. About the same Time, these Assembly-Men, that they might bring on the Parliament, the Dislike and Reproaches of the Populace, appointed a Day of solemn Humiliation and Fasting to be observ'd thro' all *Scotland*. The chief Reason of the Fast, as they alledged, was the Apostacy and Defection of the States of the Kingdom, from the Truth and Purity of Religion, who were for restoring the King on too easy Terms. The Duke of *Hamilton*, who openly profess'd himself to be Presbyterian, in Pamphlets he published, declared solemnly to the People, That he would religiously observe their Covenants, and stand by them against all Mortals; and that the Army he commanded, was raised chiefly for this End. None of the Loyalists, especially those who served under *Montrose*, were allowed to enjoy any Dignity, or have any Command in the Army; however, underhand he encouraged them to expect Places of Trust and Honour, as soon as he was entred *England*. By these Means he thought to have pleas'd both Parties: But in this he was deceived; for he was suspected and hated by both.

C H A P. III.

THE Duke of *Hamilton*, besides the choice Levies he had made in *Scotland*, procur'd also from *Ireland* a considerable Number of old Soldiers, under the Command of *George Monro*, a brave General. The Earl of *Callender*

day, train'd up in the Wars both at Home and Abroad, and famous for his Knowledge in Military Affairs, whom the Parliament appointed Lieutenant General, he took with him into *England*; his Brother he left at Home, to bring up Succours to him timeously, if there should be Occasion. In fine, Every Thing being settled to his Mind, having stout Soldiers and good Officers, being well furnished with Arms and Provisions, and sure of Assistance in *England*, he began his March; but then his slow Marches occasioned a grievous Outcry, That he trifled away the Time, and did nothing, That this encouraged the Enemy to rise in Arms, and that the Loyalists in *England*, who were up in Arms, and even the King himself, were basely betrayed a second Time to their Enemies, by this scandalous and unseasonable Delay. It is certain, that very many *English* in several Counties of *England*, especially in *Wales*, *Kent* and *Cornwal*, trusting the Promises of the Duke, and expecting powerful Assistance from him, did, under the Command of the King's Officers, very soon rise in Arms, which prov'd at last both the King's and their Ruin.

At Length, being advanced to the Borders, he was met by those of the North of *England*, that were most fam'd for their Fortitude and Loyalty, and were of greatest Influence and Interest in that Country. They frankly joining the *Scots* as a sure Proof and Pledge of their Loyalty and Constancy, deliver up *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, two strong Towns, which sometime before they had seized and taken from the Independents; and removing their own Garrisons, *Scots* Governors and Garrisons were placed in their Stead. Among those who joined him, were Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Gentlemen of great Interest and Authority, who had plentiful Estates, many Dependents, and were well lik'd by People of that Country; besides, they were Men that had distinguish'd themselves by their Conduct and Courage; yet the Duke did not advise with them in any Matters of Moment; they were indeed admitted to the publick Consultations, where nothing considerable was transacted, but were far from being allowed Access to their Cabin Councils, that consisted of a few of the Duke's Creatures. The *English*, who knew much better than the *Scots* could pretend to, the Roads in their own Country, and the Temper of their own Country-Men, were mostly for march-

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ing through *Yorkshire*, because the Country People were well affected to the King; but the Duke, who neglecting the Loyalists, used to encourage and extol the Presbyterians, chose rather to march through *Lancashire*, knowing the People of that *Shire* were more inclined the Presbyterian Way, unluckily he ordered *Monro*, with a strong Body both of Foot and Horse, to stop in *Westmorland*, and Sir *Marmaduke*, with his Countrymen, who were not indeed numerous, but were stout and true Loyalists, to take a different Rout, and pitch their Camp in a Place different from that of the *Scots*; and for his own Army, he suffered it to be spread and scattered wide and broad, as good as Twenty Miles among the Country Villages and Steads. Thus Acting against all the Rules of Military Discipline, that he might not seem to act also altogether against Reason, he pretended that he took this Course for the Ease of the People of that *Shire* that were the King's best Friends, and that the Soldiers might the better be provided with Food and Forage, Wood and Water. In the mean Time he rested secure, and neglected the Enemy, who were very diligent, and watched all Advantages for carrying on the War. So that he, who at other Times, in the Opinion of many, was reckoned a Man of great Prudence and Foresight, and particularly skill'd in laying Traps and Snares for his Enemies, was now, to the great Prejudice of the King and Kingdom, become all in a sudden an ill advised, unskilful, and unlucky General, to say no worse of him.

In the mean Time the Independents, who by Force and Fraud, had become Masters of the King, carried him to the Isle of *Wight*, then taking the Command of the City and Tower of *London* from the Presbyterians, they expell'd them the Parliament, and purged the Army of them. Thus being sole Masters, they took off the Mask, and now shewed themselves as much enraged against the Presbyterians, as before they had been against the King, and that they were resolved to trample on Presbytery now as insolently, as they had done on the Monarchy before. The General *Fairfax* undertook to quell some Presbyterians, who joining with the Loyalists, were mutinying in *Kent* and *Essex*, this he easily effectuated; for they were only raw Men, without Order or Officers, unfit and unprovided for War; however, *Colchester*, tho not well fortified by the Va-
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our and Resolution of the King's Officers, especially Sir
Charles Lucas, and Sir *George Lisle*, which ought never to
 be forgot, held out much longer than was expected. The
 Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, with the same Success en-
 gaged the *Scots* Army under Duke *Hamilton*, they were lying
 in *Lancashire* very secure, when *Cromwel* came upon them
 unawares. The *English* commanded by Sir *Marmaduke*
Langdale received the first Shock, and fought it out with
 much Bravery very long; and despairing of that Assistance
 they had demanded of Duke *Hamilton*, when they were
 overpowered, and almost surrounded by the Enemy, they
 were forced to save themselves by Flight. *Cromwel* being
 thoroughly informed by Deserters of the ill Order and Dis-
 cipline of the Duke's Army, promised himself a very easy
 and cheap Victory; *Cromwel's* chief Strength was in his
 Cavalry with them, assaulting briskly the Centre of the
Scots Army, they easily give Way. Their General *Hamilton*
 utterly ignorant of Military Affairs, being struck with this
 surprising Assault of the Enemy, and not knowing what to
 do, fled with the Forces he had left, into the Town of *Preston*, nor did he keep himself any Time there; but being acted
 either by Fate or Fear, he abandoned that very Night, that
 Town to the Enemy, and crossed the River, without having
 left a Guard on the Bridge, so *Cromwel* presently seized it.
 Thus leaving his Foot, he and his Cavalry made a very
 dishonourable Retreat. The Foot following the Example,
 and by the Orders of their Commander *Baillie*, throwing
 away their Arms, shamefully surrendered to the victorious
 Enemy. Some of the Horse joined *Monro*, but the far
 greater Part of them followed, and overtook their fleeing
 General. He had still remaining more than 3000 light
 Horse; who after a Journey of three or four Days, being
 refreshed, and leaving the Enemy at a great Distance be-
 hind them, were unanimous for attempting yet somewhat
 for retrieving the King's Affairs. Some were for forcing
 their Way through the Enemy to *Monro*, others for advan-
 cing to *Wales*, and joining the Loyalists that were in
 Arms there. All agreed in this, that an honourable
 Death was rather to be chosen than to fall into the
 Hands of so base and cruel Enemies. The General,
 and he only was against this; he said, *What they had met*
with, was the Fortune of War, That it ought quietly to be sub-
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mitted to, *That they ought not to struggle with Fate, and, That there were no Hopes of Safety by fighting, but Hopes of Mercy by surrendering to the Enemy, and that the sooner they surrender'd, it would be the more for their Safety.* Cromwel's Army not coming up soon enough, the Duke in great Haste treats of surrendring, with the Governour of an obscure little Fort, demanding no other Terms, but to spare his and his Followers Lives. This petty Governour had got together in great Haste a Rabble of Country People, consisting of about 400. To this formidable Enemy, the Duke was just on the Point of surrendring himself, and 3000 good Cavalry, when the News came that the Earl of *Stamford* (others say Colonel *Lambert*) was at hand, to him he surrenders on the same Terms that had been prescribed by the petty Officer we spoke of before; after the Surrendry, he is immediately thrown into Prison. *Callendar* the Lieutenant General, whom those of the *Hamiltonian* Party blam'd for losing the Army, and charg'd with all the Evils that followed the Defeat, because the General had entrusted all to him, being asham'd of this Imputation, and taking a more honourable Course than others had done, travelled through a great Part of *England* in Disguise; at length, having the Opportunity of a Ship, he fled to *Holland*. The richer Sort of those that were surrendred, bought their Liberty with their Money: Some by slipping, others by bribing the Jaylors, made their Escape. The common Soldiers, that could find no Way to escape, were treated in a most unchristian and barbarous manner, and sold for Slaves to the *West India* Merchants.

Monro, and those with him, who survived the Battle of *Preston*, are presently recall'd to *Scotland* by the Earl of *Lanrick*, who, not far from the Borders, were join'd by great Numbers of the Loyalists, and of the Earls Friends and Vassals; and several *English* Gentlemen willing to share of the same Fortune with them, offered also their Service to subdue the Rebels, whether *Scotland* or *England* should be the Seat of the War. All the loyal Peers drawing all the Assistance they could, from all Quarters hastned to join them, and either by themselves or their Deputies declared their good Affections, and Readiness to engage in that Service: So that there was a sufficient Force to oppose *Cromwel*, if he invaded *Scotland*, or *Argyll*, if he attempted to

raise any new Troubles : But these Forces wanted a General. Therefor in a solemn Meeting, when they were deliberating who should succeed Duke *Hamilton*, who was then Prisoner, his Brother *Lanrick*, who was but too aspiring, and ambitious, pretended to that Post, and against the Will of a great many, did rather invade than obtain it. The Earl of *Roxburgh*, a Person of great Experience, and by far the powerfullest in that Country, in a modest and grave Speech, opposed this, and entreated him, for the Sake of their dear Sovereign, and distressed Country, not to insist any more in the unreasonable demanding of that Dignity, and told him, *That even before the last Defeat many were much offended on Account of the Expedition into England, presaging no Good from it, because your Brother was their General, some say, without any good Ground, as I think that he was not faithful; every body will own that he was not fortunate, and it is from Success (tho' wrongously) that People for the most Part, judge of Generals: For my own Part, I am apt to ascribe the Loss of that gallant Army under your Brother to his Misfortune, or the Cowardice of others; yet it is well enough known, that most of the Populace (whose good Affections are needful in this critical Juncture) think, and express themselves otherwise, as to that Affair, than is fit for me to do. Now my Lord, if you succeed your Brother the Duke in that Post, they being exasperate, will cry out, That the King and the Country are undone, that both the Brothers are of the same Mind, that they follow the same Advice, are swayed by the same Motives, and that all their Enterprizes will have the same unlucky End. There are many other Persons of Quality, wise and brave Men fit for Action, whose Ancestors have been Generals of the King's Forces, and in that Post have been very successful, and acquired much Honour; I think that some of those should be invited, and be obliged, tho' it should be against their own Inclinations, to take on them the Command of the Army. And if it please the honourable Meeting, I should think, the first Offer ought to be made to the Lord Mareschal, whose Family may be ranked among the first in Scotland, whose Ancestors have distinguished themselves by their Loyalty and Bravery, one who has a plentiful Estate, is in the Flower of his Age, is not in the least suspected of Factionness or Disloyalty, and (which ought not to be forgotten) one who is not courting this Preferment. All the Nobles and Officers that were present, agreed heartily to what *Roxburgh**

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said, excepting *Larrick*, who boasting of his own Excellencies, said, in a threatening Manner, *That he would not suffer the Command of these Forces, of which his Brother had been General, to be wrested out of his Hands.* *Roxburgh*, and some others, who understood the Tendency of such Courses, return'd home much vexed and grieved, and never meddled any more with the Publick Affairs; for they saw every thing going to Confusion and Ruin.

Larrick no sooner entred *Scotland*, but he dismissed these brave and loyal *English*, who had joined the *Scots* Army, alledging, That having so many *English* about him, might give umbrage to the *Scots*, and alienate their Affections. In the mean time, he made the *English* believe, that he would advise with them, and assist them on all Occasions; but this they found afterwards to be quite otherwise. Then with a great Parade he sends circular Letters to all Parts of the Kingdom, inviting all the Nobility and Gentry to take Arms, acknowledging, That a great Part of the Army under his Brother, was lost, but averring that the Duke had bravely stood it out against the Enemy, and that the Disaster was to be ascribed to the Cowardice and Treachery of others; however (as he affirm'd) the greater Part of the Army was still safe and resolute under his Command; and therefor earnestly entreated them to come and share with him of the Honours and Advantages that would certainly attend his victorious Arms: But knowing that his Constancy in his King and Country's Cause, was much questioned by many, he imprecated many Curses upon himself, if he did not prosecute to the utmost this most just War, which was first begun, for rescuing the King, and restoring him to his Royal Dignity, owning at the same Time, That he was the more engaged to prosecute the War, that he might rescue his dear Brother the Duke, who was then Prisoner. There were very few so obstinate in their Prejudices against the two Brothers, but were ready to give Credit to this Letter, and receive some good Impressions in their Favour, yet some there were who still suspected them; all beyond *Forth*, even the *Fife* Men themselves, prepared for an Insurrection; the Earl of *Seaforth* from the Western Islands, and the outmost Parts of *Caithness*, brought 4000 regimented Men, the Earl of *Mortoun* brought from *Orkney* to *Lothian* about 1200 unarmed, and these wise Officers

took no Care to provide them. It was well known, that the Gordons, whose Chief, *Huntly*, was imprisoned, and in Danger of his Life, at *Edinburgh*; and the Earl of *Errol*, hereditary high Constable of *Scotland*, the Earls *Mareschal*, *Buchan*, *Athol*, and all their Men, would soon be up in Arms; as also the Lords *Ogilvie*, *Spyney*, *Carnegie*, *Scrimzour*, *Drummond*, *Areskin*, *Fleming*, *Livingstoun*, *Lindsay*, *Sinclair*, *Douglas*, *Queensberry*, *Hartfield*, *Maxwel*, *Annandale*, *Home*, *Linton*, and many other Lords, Barons, and Heads of Clans, with all the *Highlanders*, except *Argyll*, of which many had already, to their great Prejudice, drawn their Swords.

The *Argathelian* Faction had indeed, by the Instigation and Assistance of the Fanatick Ministers, gathered together in the West a few Herds, Ploughmen, Weavers, Coblers, and such Canaille, a Parcel of unarm'd and cowardly Fellows; these they send to *Edinburgh*, under the Command of *David Lesly*, afterwards they are provided with Arms that were rather a Burden and Hindrance, than of any Use or Help to them, and set on Horses that had many Years before been doom'd to the Drudgery of the Cart and Plough, with Sods in stead of Saddles, Branks and Halters in stead of Bridles. *Argyll* follows attended with about 700 of such a Mob; of them he proposes to put a Garrison into *Stirling*, a Place fit for his Purpose. *Lanrick* was marching to *Edinburgh* on the Head of a Gallant Army, for he had 5000 excellent light Horse, and of Foot that were, for the most Part, old trained Soldiers, 6000, with good Officers, all of them hearty, well arm'd, and every Way well provided, wishing nothing more than to engage the Enemy, over whom they expected a certain and cheap Victory. His advanced Guard coming the Length of *Musselburgh* Bridge, attack the Guard *Lesly* had placed there, and with a very small Number, first put into Disorder, then to Flight, great Numbers of them, without having so much as one Man kill'd or wounded. The General *Lanrick* was at this Time inform'd, that the Enemy was cowardly, unfit for War, and thought of nothing but flying or surrendring. That a Victory without Blood, and consequently the more popular, was now in their Power, that if he followed this Blow that had been given, that very Night, and, perhaps, before Sun-set, they might seize *Edinburgh* the Capital City,

Leith,

Leith, and all the Naval Stores and Magazines there, where were many Cannon and small Arms, much Provision and Amunition, and that the third Part of the Army would easily accomplish all this. Every Body was persuaded, that if he had followed this Counsel, all Scotland might have been recovered, and would have become loyal and obedient to the King; but the General refused to fight, retreated, recall'd his victorious Soldiers, left the High Way that leads to *Edinburgh*, and took another unlucky Course. The Officers and Soldiers astonished at this, began first to wonder, then to rage and fly in a Passion, that this good Opportunity was lost, which embrac'd and improv'd, might in a short Time have put an End to the War in Scotland; that this was an ill tim'd and dangerous Delay, would be of great Advantage to the Enemy, and give them not only Time to breath, but also to receive Recruits not only from their Friends in Scotland, but also from *England*, especially *Cromwel*, for whom they were fighting, that *Edinburgh* the Capital City, and Principal Place for the Meeting of the States, would countenance them, and furnish them freely with Arms and Money: Besides all this, that these under *Lanrick* would lose the Reputation of good Soldiers and their Enemies, who did not in the least deserve to be called Soldiers, get a greater Name, which might be of no small Advantage to them. The wiser Sort began then first to suspect the Tendency of those Courses; for no Man in his Wits could imagine, that the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was a wise and smart Man, would so play the Fool and the Mad-man, if he had not Views quite different from what he pretended. For he had resolv'd long before, to make Peace with *Argyll's* Faction at any Rate, and made this Weaponslaw not to shew his Will, but his Power to hurt them: For now it is known, that long before, he had sent Messengers to *Argyll* for compounding of Matters privately, and that he was very indifferent what became of his Soldiers, and those that he had engag'd to take up Arms.

When the Enemy saw, with Joy, that he was turning his Forces from *Edinburgh*, and marching by *Pentland Hills*, they presently draw out their contemptible Force, that had nothing but the Name and Habit of Soldiers, not that they had any Confidence in them, but that by the Appearance of an Army, they might preserve their Authority with the People,

People, that were restrained from engaging them by the Orders of their Commanders. The veteran Officers and Soldiers could scarce bear this Affront, and with Difficulty were stopt by their General from rushing on their despicable Enemy ; yet such was the Authority of their General, that against their Will they march towards *Stirling*. When they came to *Wallace Chappel*, the Van was commanded by *Monro*, a true Loyalist, and one who was for pushing on in good earnest a War, which, as he thought, was first entered into for retrieving of the King's Affairs. He by this Time began to smell out *Lanrick's* secret and under-hand Designs ; which tho' he could not altogether crush, he design'd to thwart, and bring to Light by this good Stratagem. When he heard that *Argyll*, with 700 *Highlanders*, had possessed *Stirling* that Morning, leaving at a great Distance behind him, the General who brought up the Rear very slowly, by swift Marches he advanced to that Town, with a Design to surprize him, he found all the Gates shut, and guarded ; but being privily admitted through a Park, which the Kings of *Scotland* kept of old for Deer, he found a little strait and low Gate, which a Man on Horseback could not pass ; therefore alighting from his Horse, this resolute and indefatigable General, breaking down the Gate, entered the Town, his Soldiers followed him one by one very slowly, being hindred by the Narrowness of the Passage. And when he first encountered the Enemy, not above six were come up to him. *Argyll's* Men being disordered by this unexpected Attack, knew not what to do ; therefore in great Confusion they ran stragling up and down the Streets and Lanes. Their General *Argyll*, in his usual Manner, fled as soon as he heard of the Enemy's being got into the Town, and mounting a swift Horse, which he kept, made towards the Gate opposite to that by which the *Assailants* entered. *Monro* pursued him close ; but he, by the Fleetness of his Horse, gaining the Bridge, made his Escape like a Hart from the Pursuit of the Hunter ; 200 of his Men were kill'd, and the rest, whose Flight was prevented, were taken Prisoners. At length, *Lanrick* coming up, and with him *Lindsay* and *Glencairn*, who were the only Persons admitted to his Cabin Councils, were extremely uneasy at this gallant Action of *Monro's* ; *Lindsay* could not conceal his Sorrow, but breaking out into these Words, said, *Wo's*

me,

me, that I should see this mischievous and unlucky Day ; for they were dreadfully afraid that this should provoke *Argyll*, and prevent the Pacification they had projected:

Tho *Lanrick* dissembled deeply to those that were with him, and to the Nobility and Gentry, who had not join'd him, wearying them continually, with Invitations to take Arms, yet *Monro*, and some others, penetrated into his dark Designs ; among these were the *Athol* Men, *Highlanders* indeed, and not so polish'd as the Inhabitants of the lower Countries are, yet not without a great deal of natural Sagacity, they being in Arms, had advanced the Length of the River *Iern*, when they sent a Petition to the General and the Nobles that join'd him, praying them, *That they would, if they were in good Earnest for the King and Country, according to the Authority which the King and last Parliament devolved on them, declare all who opposed them, especially the Forces gathered at Edinburgh, to be guilty of High Treason and Rebellion, and by these Means settle the fluctuating and unconstant Minds of many*, For, say they, tho' we ought not to doubt of your Constancy, Courage and Loyalty, yet there are not a few who might be of great Use to you, who are afraid, that forsaking them, you will clap up a Peace, base and dishonourable to your selves, dangerous and destructive to those that have joined you : If any such Thing should fall out, which we cannot think of without Horrour, what can we expect but Curses and Excommunications from the Kirk, Imprisonment, Banishment, Devastations, and Death it self, from our cruel Enemies ? Thus they, and many others address'd themselves to the General and his Counsellors : These Addresses they often repeted, but they who made these just and reasonable Requests, were first put off and delayed, then mock'd and deceiv'd. At length *Glencairn*, who was Cousin German to the *Hamiltons* by the Mother's Side, and *Lindsay* who was their Brother in Law, both of them inviolably attach'd to the General, having clandestinely concluded a Peace with the Enemy, were not ashamed publicly to talk of treating with them, not on reasonable, but on any Terms. The Soldiers hearing of this, being enraged, mutiny'd. Then the General in a Speech to the Soldiers, by a wonderful Cunning, commends their Resolution and Pravery. But on the other hand, he said, He could not but approve of *Lindsay* and *Glencairn's* peaceable Disposition ; he profess publickly

publickly to be for continuing the War, but really, and in his own Mind, he was for Peace. In perplex'd and intricate Ways of speaking, he chid *Glencairn* and *Lindsay*, and complain'd that they, without his Knowledge, and against his will, who was their General, should treat with the Enemy, and desire a Peace so treacherous and unsafe, on such hard Terms, and such as were to be condescended on afterwards. Tho' he pretended that he would never agree to a Peace on such Terms, Terms obtruded on them by the Enemy, yet he obtested others, by the Regard they had to the Safety of their Parents and Wives, Children and Friends, to acquiesce. There were few so senseless as to believe that these two Peace-makers, so many Ways bound to him, who in all other Things were at his Devotion, would, without his Orders, project any Thing tending to Peace, let be to treat with the Enemy.

However, by such Artifices as are above mentioned, *Glencairn* and *Lindsay's* Advice is followed, and the Peace concluded, notwithstanding it was opposed by all the Officers and Soldiers, and all the loyal Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. Thus those Troops that were rais'd by the Authority of the King and Parliament, increas'd by great Numbers that from all Parts of the Kingdom were daily joining them, that had endured no Fatigue, were infected with no Distemper, had never been in the least worsted by the Enemy, were in no Straits, were heal, hearty, well provided, and well arm'd, are forc'd to accept of unjust and hard Terms prescribed by a Parcel of cowardly Rebels, wanting the Authority of the King, Parliament and Laws. By the Articles of Peace it was provided, *That all the Officers, who served under either of the Hamiltons should lay down their Arms, those in Stirling and the neighbouring Parts, in two Days, those in other Parts of the Kingdom in a Fourthnight; whosoever does otherwise, shall be held guilty of High Treason. All the Nobility who were engag'd in this last Expedition, or did any way abett those concern'd in it, shall compear before the next Meeting of the States, to be judged by them, but have no Vote there. The Colonels, Captains, and other Officers, to be cashier'd, and declared incapable of any publick Post, till they having publickly professed their Repentance, shall satisfy the Presbytery. This last Article to be extended to the common Soldiers also. All the Irish presently to go out of Scotland; whoever is found*

and in it after a certain Day to be fixed, shall be punished with
 and intri- Death; That all should compear before the Presbyteries, be judged
 ay, and by them, and subject themselves to such Penances as they shall
 against appoint, which if they refuse, they are to be excommunicate.
 the Ene- That Day the publick Intimation was made, that the Peace
 on such was concluded, the Soldiers were disperfed thro' the diffe-
 on after- rent Lanes and Streets of the Town, else, no doubt, this
 agree to a would have occasioned a great Tumult. The General
 the Ene- Lanrick would gladly have purged himself of being con-
 d to the cerned in making this Peace, yet the furious Multitude, to
 Friends, his Disgrace, in a mournful Way, as is usual on such Occa-
 eve that sions, cried, *Oh! Oh! Oh! We want Montrose, Oh! to have*
 to him, *Montrose again, how unlucky is it, that at this Time, Montrose*
 would, *is absent from us; we that are vanquished this Day, flee like poor*
 o Peace, *forwardly Fellows, and are reckoned as Traitors to our King and*
Country, under your Command and Conduct, would have defeat
and subdued our Enemies, restored the King, and rendred all his
Subjects loyal and peaceable. In fine, the whole Town rung
 d, Glen- with Complaints, Groans and Curses on those who had be-
 nce con- trayed their King and Country, had abandoned and given up
 Officers y of the to the Enemy a Number of resolute and brave Men, who,
 the Au- after taking, as it were their last Farewell of one another,
 y great went to push their Fortunes, where Providence might cast
 re daily their Lot. They were all in a miserable Condition, but
 infected the Irish were in the most forlorn State imaginable; for
 fted by they had no Money to carry them on their Way, or pay
 ell pro- their Passage to their own Country, and were to suffer Death,
 ust and if they did not without Delay go out of Scotland: While
 Rebels, they are in the Way to their own Country, some of them
 d Laws. are stript, some wounded, and others kill'd by the Instiga-
 Officers, tion of the West Country Ministers, all on pretence of re-
 in their venging on them that were Innocent, the Massacre of
 o Days, Ireland.

The *Argathelians* having, without stroke of Sword, gain'd
 a clear Victory, and become now Masters of all in Scotland,
 as the Independents were in England, manag'd their Affairs
 with great Industry and Application. The first Thing they
 did, was, while they were Treating of Peace, to invite
 Cromwel into Scotland: At his Arrival, Argyll received him
 with all the Marks of Friendship and Respect, and com-
 plimented him as one that had deserved best of Scotland, by
 defeating Duke Hamilton's Army.

C H A P. IV.

WE have, for the Information of Foreigners, deduced the Affairs of *Scotland* at a greater Length, than will well agree with our designed Brevity, on purpose that they may see, by what Artifices those who pretended to be Saints, opposed not only *Montrose*, but even the King himself, and brought on themselves and their Country, Slavery and Ruin: This was the State of *Scotland* about the End of the Year 1648. In the Beginning of the 1649, on the 30th of *January*, that black and dismal Day, the furious Independents, blinded with Avarice and Ambition, against all Laws Humane and Divine, inhumanely murdered at *London* the best of Kings, judged and condemned him who was accountable to GOD only. At this Time the *Argathelians* sent, in Name of the States of *Scotland*, Commissioners to the Parliament of *England*, of which the Earl of *London* was the Chief, one very unacceptable, and very ungrateful to the King, who, notwithstanding, that by his Royal Bounty, he had raised him and his Father to great Honour and Riches, yet was his most inveterate Enemy. These Commissioners did not disapprove of the Sentence passed on the King, as unjust and illegal; for it was one of their Instructions not to oppose the *English* in maintaining the Right of the People to dethrone, and even to punish with Death the King, if they saw Cause: However, that they might, at their Return, impose on unthinking People, as if that abominable wickedness had been contriv'd and accomplished without their Knowledge, and against their Will, they go out of the Town, the Day that was appointed for that horrid Murder; for tho' those impious Traitors were thirsting for the Blood of their Sovereign, yet they were so wise, as not to be Spectators of that Execrable Murder, which they knew well enough would be very offensive to all Christians. Certainly it was one, and not the least of the King's Troubles and Misfortunes, that most of those, whom he and his Father King *James* of blessed

bleſſed Memory had advanced to Places, dignified with Titles, and enriched by his Royal Bounty, were moſt ungrateful to him, the firſt and moſt forward in reſiſting and reſtelling againſt him. On the contrair, thoſe that were his moſt obedient and faithful Subjects, were ſuch as had not been regarded at Court, and had not enjoyed any Places or Penſions.

Montroſe (who knew thoroughly the Temper of the Rebels) foreſaw, and often publicly foretold, and endeavoured, tho' in vain, to prevent theſe Evils. But the King and Queen being deceived by the ſpecious Pretences and Promiſes of the Presbyterians, and the *Hamiltonian* Party, would not hearken to his good Advice. When he underſtood this, he left *France*, where he ſaw he could be no more ſerviceable to the King. This he did indeed without the Queen's Knowledge; but he left in Writing the Reaſons of his Removal, begg'd the Queen's Pardon, and hop'd ſhe would interpret favourably what he had done.

In the Beginning of *April*, being accompanied only with two Gentlemen that were Knights, he came to *Geneve*; and having paſſ'd thro' *Swiſſerland*, he travelled into *Tirol*, *Bavaria* and *Auſtria*. The Emperor was not then at *Vienna*, therefore he went to him at *Prague*, to ſollicit him about the King's Affairs; he was graciously receiv'd by him there, on account of his Bravery and Loyalty, for which he was famous thro' all Chriſtendom. His Imperial Maſteſty removing from *Prague* a few Days after, took *Montroſe* along with him, and upon all Occaſions ſhew'd the Liking and Eſteem he had of him, he made him one of his Colonels, and honoured him with the Title of Mareſchal in the Imperial Army. He got a Commiſſion to raiſe ſome Independent Regiments, which he was to command apart, immediately under the Emperor; he was allowed to levy Men in any Part of the *Roman* Empire, and to name whom he pleas'd Colonels, Captains, and other Officers. Theſe Parts of *Germany* next to *Flanders* were reckoned fitteſt for raiſing Men: Therefore, with conſent of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, Letters making honourable Mention of *Montroſe*, were ſent to *Leopold* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, then Governor of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, that by his Intereſt and Authority, he ſhould give *Montroſe* all manner of Aſſiſtance. This Succeſs of his Negotiations was very pleaſing to him; for being intent on retrieving the King's Affairs,

fairs, he desired to be near at Hand, in case any Occasion offered of serving him.

Being thus honourably dismissed by the Emperor, because the shorter Way thro' *Germany* was not passable by Reason of Enemies, he was obliged to take the following Route: from *Vienna* he went to *Presburg* in *Hungary*, from thence to *Poland*, and viewing *Crackow*, he went thro' *Prussia* to *Dantzick*, the most famous Hanse-Town on the *Baltick*, taking Ship at *Dantzick*, he landed in *Denmark*, and was very graciously received by his *Danish* Majesty. Here *Montrose* being fatigued with a long and troublesome Journey, rested some Days; then passing into *Jutland*, he went aboard a Ship bound for *Groning* in *Friseland*, where he was no sooner arrived, than he set out for *Brussels*: The Archduke was gone to *Tournay*. *Montrose* hastening after him, delivered the Emperor's Letters, and complimented him in his Name, soliciting at the same Time the Archduke's Assistance in what concerned his Imperial Majesty. But the late Loss of a gallant Army had occasioned some Jealousies and Tumults in *Flanders*: This kept the Archduke from doing any Thing in that Matter till he should return to *Brussels*; but he is no sooner got thither, than he lays this Affair before the Senate, that they might give the Emperor their best Advice, and most powerful Assistance.

While they are deliberating of this, *Montrose* receives from his Highness the Prince of *Scotland* and *Wales*, who was then at the *Hague*, Letters calling him thither, full of Kindness to him, and expressing a great deal of Confidence in him. For they who were about the Prince, and wished him well, especially Prince *Rupert* (who agreed with *Montrose* in the same Sentiments of the Presbyterians) advised the Prince, who was much inclined that Way of himself, to send for *Montrose*. For Duke *Hamilton* having lost a brave Army in *England*, and his Brother the Earl of *Lanrick* having abandoned and dispersed a yet better one in *Scotland*, and the Loyalists and Presbyterians being reduc'd in both Kingdoms, *Montrose* was the only Scotsman who had all the good Affection and Resolution necessary for the present Juncture, that hitherto indeed he had been ill used, because his Advice was never followed, nor he employed in the King's Service, except in desperate Attempts; but they knew him to be a Person of that Loyalty and Magnanimity,

that

Occasion that notwithstanding of all this, he would still, if it could be of any Service to the King, expose himself to any Danger. *Montrose* being informed of the Prince's Sentiments, and of his Confidence in him, having the Archduke's Pass, was going straight to the *Hague*, when he received the doleful News of the King's being murder'd by the *English* Independents. Good GOD! what a Horrour seiz'd him at the first, even uncertain Rumours of it; but when it was told for a Certainty, and there was no more Ground to doubt of it, then his Indignation was heightned almost into Fury, and his Grief for his Royal Master was such, as quite sunk him, then fainting, he fell down in the midst of those about him, and all the Members of his Body became stiff as if he had been quite dead: At length, when he recovered after many deep Sighs and Groans, he broke out into these Words, *We ought not to live any longer, we should die with our excellent Sovereign; GOD, who has the Power of Life and Death is my Witness, that after this, Life will be uneasy and bitter to me.* I who write this History, was one of these present, and tho' I was inexpressibly afflicted and grieved, yet endeavoured to comfort and encourage him, by addressing my self to him thus, *Die, my Lord, no, you who are so justly famed for your Fortitude, and all resolute good Men ought now rather to be more desirous of Life, now we ought to rouse up all our Courage, and by engaging in a just War, avenge the Murder of our Royal Master, and settle the Prince his Son on the Throne of his Ancestors: These are the funeral Obsequies we owe to our deceased Sovereign; this will be more becoming your known Loyalty, Constancy and Resolution, than to despond, when we are under the greatest Distress, as indeed we are now; otherwise we shall gratify our Enemies, by giving them a complete Victory, and afford them Matter of the greatest Triumph.* No sooner had I mentioned the avenging of the King's Murder, than *Montrose* began as it were to revive and raise himself, and being somewhat compos'd after the Disorder he had been in, with his usual Goodness, replied, *Well then, I shall be satisfied to live, but I vow before GOD, Angels and Men, that I will bestow the Remainder of my Life in avenging the Death of the Royal Martyr, and settling his Son upon his Throne.* *Montrose* presently after he had spoke this, withdrew to the most retired Room of the House, and for two Days no Body was allowed to speak with him, or

so

so much as see him : On the 3d Day I had Access to him, and found in his Bed-chamber, writ on a small Piece of Paper, the fine Poem he compos'd on Occasion of the King's Murder ; it is short by Way of Vow or Resolution, but it is writ with a deal of Spirit ; for he had a good Genius for Poetry : And as often as he had any spare Hours from publick Business, he us'd to divert himself with some Compositions of that Kind. I have done this Poem, as I could, into Latin, and you will find it in the 56th Page of the Appendix to this Book. I know that I have not express'd all the Wit of the Original, but I hope I have the Sense of it, which will be of Use to Foreigners, who do not understand *English*.

Charles, the 2d of that Name, succeeding his Father by hereditary Right, as King of *Britain*, sent for *Montrose*, as soon as Grief for his Father's Death, and Decency would allow him, and expressing much Kindness and Esteem for him, appointed him Governor of *Scotland*, and General of his Forces by Sea and Land, with the same Powers, and almost in the same Terms he had received a Commission from his Royal Father. Besides, He appointed him his Ambassador to the Emperor, the King of *Denmark*, the Princes of *Germany*, and others his Confederates and Allies, to negotiate whatever concern'd their assisting the King with auxiliary Troops, Arms and Ammunition, to enter into such Engagements and Treaties in his Royal Master's Name, and manage all his Affairs at these Courts, as he should see fit, recommended him with great Concern, and in Terms full of Respect, to the different Courts where he was to negotiate. The King's Affairs were taking a happy Turn, and all the sanguine People were promising great Things to themselves, when the younger of the *Hamiltons* the Earl of *Lanrick* interveened, as was usual for him to do, he and his Dependent *Lauderdale* came in great Haste to *Holland*, pretending they had been obliged to flee *Scotland* ; but indeed, that they might oppose the good Counsels *Montrose* gave the King, cross his Measures, and do what they could to disappoint all his Designs, as he and his Brother had done formerly in the King's Father's Time. *Montrose* advised the King to go himself in Person, as soon as possible to *Scotland*, that he might, by his Presence and Example animate his Loyal Subjects, who were far more numerous than

the

the Rebels, to take Arms. He assured him, that the People being taught by Experience, were now aware of the Tricks and Artifices of the Rebels, both Presbyterians and Independents, That the People now despised the odious Railings their Preachments were interspersed with, of Design to alienate the Affections of the Vulgar from that Allegiance they owed the King, That most were enraged against the Authors of the King's Murder, and bent on revenging it, That Delays were dangerous, and that the People were to be taken while they were in their Ferment, That Delays would give the Enemy an Opportunity of strengthening themselves by Force or Fraud, That many who had been formerly Enemies to the King, were now sensible of their Errour, and would become good Subjects, That to attack the Enemy now, would be more serviceable to the King's Interest, than the Assistance of many more afterwards; and that therefore, all Dispatch imaginable was to be made, That not one Hour was to be lost, That in such a Juncture every Minute was precious. The Earls of *Seaforth* and *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Sinclair*, and others of the Nobility, who had come to *Holland* on Purpose, advised the King to take that Course: But *Hamilton* on the contrair, said, *Nothing was to be done rashly, That a new King should suspect every Body, and every Counsel they gave; That the Affections of the People were to be secured, before the King ventured his Person in any dangerous Enterprize, he represented the extraordinary Influence the Presbyterian Ministers, who were great Enemies to the King, had on the Populace, That Argyll's Faction had all the Power and Authority which the Name and Interest of the States of Scotland could afford. In short, That the King's Affairs had a very ill Aspect; and that therefore no rash Steps were to be taken with the States of the Kingdom, as they were called, That they should proceed slowly, and in a friendly manner with them, and that nothing ought to be attempted without their Consent.* At the same Time, he is making dreadful Outcries against the Phanaticks as a seditious Sect, cruel, malicious and treacherous, and incensed against him merely on Account of his Loyalty; he endeavours to persuade the King, That he should trust them only, and expect to be restor'd by them who had brought his Father to the Block. The King himself was most inclined to *Montrose's* Opinion; which when *Lanrick* perceiv'd, he endeavoured,

voured, tho' in vain, by the Assistance of some Courtiers, to make some ill Impressions on his easy Temper, as if *Montrose* had been an ambitious, forward, rash Man, one that took too much Pleasure in Civil Wars, and promised more than he was able to perform. However, he prevailed so far, that much Time was spent in deliberating what was to be done, and *Montrose* met with a great many new and needless Rubs and Delays.

The King loved *Montrose*, and fear'd *Lanrick*; and therefore, since it was not possible to reconcile them in Principle, he endeavour'd to prevent the ill Consequences of their differing in Opinion, and to reconcile them to one another. *Montrose*, with Asseverations declared, That he never bore any private Grudge against the *Hamiltons*, that the first Rise of the Difference between them, that continued to that Day, was on the King's Account, and that he always thought they did not deal sincerely in these Matters, that their Pretences of Duty and Loyalty were more hurtful to the King, than all the Attempts of his Enemies, that the following of ill Counsels had weakned the King's Friends, and given new Life to the Rebels, with whom they kept a close Correspondence, that they could never hitherto be prevailed with, plainly, throughly and publickly to desert the confederate Rebels, who certainly were the King's inveterate Enemies, whatever Denomination they went under of being the States of the Kingdom, or the Commission of the Kirk; that all the Expressions of their Loyalty were ambiguous, and all their Attempts for the King, faint and unconstant: But if they would at length repent of what they had done, return heartily to their Allegiance, and promise to have nothing to do with the Rebels in Time coming, he promis'd, forgetting all that was past, to enter into the most sacred Ties of Friendship with them, on this Condition, that they should publickly declare their Hatred and Abhorrence of the rebellious Confederacy between the *English* and *Scots*, and all Leagues among the Subjects, without the Knowledge and Command of the King, especially that, commonly called the *Solemn League and Covenant*. That all who were in Arms against the King in *Scotland* or *England*, especially their Commanders and Officers, were Rebels, and guilty of High Treason, That *Charles* the 2d, is, by the Grace of GOD, only rightful King

King of Great Britain, &c. and that he may justly, by the Force of Arms avenge his Royal Father's Murder, and recover his own just Rights. And finally, That they would solemnly promise to stand by the King, and those commissioned by him, and in that Quarrel venture both Life and Fortune. *Hamilton* and *Lauderdale*, who in the private Audiences they had of the King, never failed to accuse the States of the Kingdom, as they were then constitute, of Treachery, Cruelty, Rebellion, and other the worst of Crimes; yet took special Care not to offend them by speaking or writing openly against them. They spoke always of the King's Authority in perplexed and ambiguous Terms, and never sufficiently explain'd themselves on that Head; sometimes indeed they would by the bye extol it, but oftener and openly they us'd to decry and diminish it; they magnified the Authority, Power and Forces of the States of *Scotland*, maintaining always, that it would be far better for the King to be settled on his Father's Throne with their Consent, and by their Authority, than by a bloody and desolating Civil War, That they could never approve that on any Account, nor enter into Friendship with those that advis'd the King to it, least of all, with *Montrose*, who was banished, forfeit, and intercommun'd for what he had done, when he had the late King's Commission: In the mean Time, Duke *Hamilton* is beheaded at *London* by the Independents. Thus by their unjust Sentence he succeeded his murdered Sovereign; some say, That a certain Wizard had given this Response, when he was consulted many Years before, *The King shall die a violent Death, and the Estates have ordained you to be his Successor*. So, perhaps, some evil Spirit deluded this ambitious Man, who succeeded his Sovereign, not in the *Throne*, but in the *Scaffold*.

CHAP. V.

AT this Juncture, a Messenger from the States of *Scotland* arrived at the *Hague*, who, after he had in a very courteous manner, inform'd the King of the good

Affections of the States, delivered to him a Proclamation in which they declare him Heir and Successor to his Father and only rightful King of Scotland. The Presbyterians and those of the *Hamiltonian* Party, were overjoy'd at this and boasted of it as the particular and immediate Blessing of Heaven, and now openly made long Speeches against those who dissuaded the King from depending on the States, who shewed so much Loyalty and good Affections to his Majesty: And truly, if they had been sincere in the Matter, and done all this from a Sense of the Duty they ow'd to the King, no Body could have denied but this was very encouraging and satisfactory; but the more discerning People soon perceiv'd the base Plot design'd to ruin the King, and subvert Monarchy. For, they knowing the People were enraged at the Murder of the King's Father, that they were bent on Revenge, and fully resolv'd to assert the King's Right as Heir to his Father, and invite him to take the Government upon him; to deceive and disappoint them, he issued out this Proclamation, with Design to deprive the King of his Regal Authority, and assume it to themselves. For they had not only in many Things chang'd the Coronation Oath taken by the Kings his Ancestors, but also added a new Oath which they had contrived.

In this Proclamation they speak of the King's Death as violent indeed; but they do not call it Regicide: No, not Murder; nor do they give it any Epithet that might shew they thought it either impious or unjust, and that they disapproved of it. All Loyalists and good Men thought it strange and intolerable, that they should call the King their only Rightful Supreme Lord and Governor, and at the same Time withhold him from the Exercise of his Regal Power, till he should satisfy the States, whom they call'd the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; which was not to declare him King, but to sift him as a Pannel before them. For what was all this, but to deprive him of the free Exercise of his Authority, by offering him a precarious Power, and to make him who was their Supreme Governor on Earth, and accountable to GOD only, their inferior Subject and Slave? Nay, this was to make the young innocent King a Victim not only to the Fury and Hatred of his mad *Scottish* Subjects, but also to the English Rebels and Regicides, whose Hands were embrued, and still reek-

clamations with the Blood of his Royal Father. By such just Remarks as these on the Proclamation of the States, the Boastings of the Affection and Loyalty of the States, would soon have been laid, if they had not received fresh Succours from those of their Kidney in *Scotland*.

The *Scots* were very differently affected at the News of *Montrose's* Interest with the young King; the Loyalists were glad of it, and expected good from it. On the other Hand, the Phanaticks were grieved and afraid; the States especially were in a panick Fear; they knew *Montrose's* innate Resolution and Bravery, and had felt the Effects of them: Nay, saw, That besides the old Cavaleers, a great many others, sensible of their Errours, were come over to the King's Side. Therefore they thought it fit in that juncture to take special Care, that he should not return to *Scotland* with such full Powers as he had before, nor be one of the King's Retinue when he return'd: For they saw that all the Country would be on his Side, which would prove the Ruin of such as had consented to the Murder of the Royal Martyr. To prevent this, they send the Earl of *Cassils*, one of the Principal Nobility, with others of a lower Rank, as Commissioners to the King in *Holland*, all of them deluded with the new Opinions, and inveterate Enemies of Monarchical Government. Their Commission, as they pretended and proclaimed thro' all Christendom, was to invite Home King *Charles*, and establish him on his Father's Throne; but their true Design was to thwart *Montrose's* Measures, and keep the King from hearkning to his Advice, that being by the Hopes of Peace, and of the Subjects returning to their Allegiance, diverted from renewing the War, that favourable Opportunity might be lost. In the mean Time, lest these Proceedings of theirs should give Umbrage to their associate Regicides in *England*, they gave them a sad Proof of their not having altered their Mind. They had not in their Power another King to murder; and therefore they pitch'd on one of the greatest Subjects, the Marquis of *Huntly* the Chief of the *Gordons*, whom they beheaded most unjustly, after a long Imprisonment. The Marquis, besides his Noble Birth, in which he was inferior to no Subject, was one of that Power in the North, that he was feared by all his Neighbours, he had a great Estate, many Friends, Vassals and Followers,

was of a comely Personage and bright Spirit, and had stuck close to the King's Interest from the Beginning of the Troubles, on this Account, and this only : He was so hated by the Fanaticks, that they resolved to make him a Sacrifice. If we do but except the unlucky Difference he had with *Montrose*, which was indeed hurtful to the King and Country, the Marquis had very few Equals. That very Day, these Commissioners set Sail from the Firth of *Edinburgh*, was appointed for the Butchery of this great Man. So that the King might easily conjecture ; and this might easily have prelag'd what was to be expected from those who murdered the King's best and most loyal Subjects.

When these five Commissioners or Deputies of the States had first Access to the King, their slow Pace, grave Habit, and dejected Countenance had all the Appearance imaginable of Humility, and a Sense of the Evil of their former Courses ; and indeed, many who were not acquainted with their Temper and Ways, expected they would have proven obedient and faithful Subjects, done the King Justice, and been sincere in all their Proposals of Accommodation and Peace. They were in a double Capacity, and had Instructions both from the States, and the Commission of the Kirk. *Cassils* was the Chief Person among them, both as to what they were charged with from the States, because he was one of the Chief Nobility, and from the Commission, of the Kirk, because he was a Ruling Elder. Their Address to the King was introduc'd with agreat many Sighs and Groans : And one may say of them as *Virgil* said of the *Sibyl*.

*Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse Deum : tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitq; premendo.*
Virg. *Æneid.* lib. VI.

Struggling in vain, impatient of her Load,
And labouring underneath the pond'rous God,
The more she strove to shake him from her Breast,
With more and far superior Force he press'd.

At Length they produce their Papers containing the Ordinances of the States, and Acts of the Commission of the Kirk, and pretend that the Terms demanded in them, are moderate, reasonable and just, and that they are adapted for settling of the Confusions, and restoring the King; and that if they got a satisfactory Answer, the King would be establish'd on his Father's Throne, by the unanimous Consent of all the People.

When the King came to consider these Papers of theirs in the Council, at the very first View it was apparent, that they were very unjust and unreasonable, and contriv'd rather to discourage than to encourage the King's Return; they contained nothing but Accusations against the deceased King, and Snares laid for his Son. In short, they contained chiefly three Things, *First*, That the King should sign and swear the national, and the solemn League and Covenant, that he establish them by his Authority, and to the utmost of his Power promote the Ends of them in all his Dominions. *2dly*, That he would ratify and confirm all the Acts and Ordinances of the States of *Scotland*, establishing Presbyterian Church Government, the Directory, Catechism and Confession of Faith, and that he grant his Royal Assent to all Acts and Ordinances of other States in his Majesty's Dominions, establishing them, and should conform himself to them, especially as to Divine Worship, whether publick or private, that he should renounce the Liturgy of the Church of England, and receive their Directory, and solemnly promise never to oppose or alter it. Their third Demand, which alone had been sufficient, for it comprehends all the rest, was, That he should solemnly declare, That in Matters Civil, he should consent to whatever should be enacted by the present and succeeding Parliaments, and in Matters Ecclesiastical, be determined by the Acts of the General Assembly, to which, all, both Princes and People should be subject and obedient.

The King dealt with them that they should produce all they were charged with, that so an Answer might be given to all at once: He desir'd them not to be so high in their Demands, and acquaint him more distinctly and fully what Aid he might expect from them, for recovering of *England* and *Ireland*. And finally, that they would declare now, and publish to the World their Thoughts of the horrible Murder

Murder committed on the deceast King of blessed Memory, and of the Authors and Instruments of it, of which they had not made the least mention. They replied, That the Summe of what they were charg'd with, was contain'd in these three Articles, and that they had no other Thing to represent, but what related to them, except they received new Instructions from the States, that their Demands were not only just and honourable, but also absolutely necessary, as founded on the holy Scriptures, and being of Divine Institution, and therefore could not recede in the least from them: That such Succours were to be expected from the States, as they judg'd fit, just and necessary, in Pursuance of the *Solemn League and Covenant*. Thus in dark and ambiguous Terms they replied to every Question that was ask'd them, but they stuck most miserably, when they were pos'd on the King's Murder, they were asham'd to approve or commend it, lest the *English* being provok'd, should unreasonably upbraid them, as being Partakers of that Wickedness; and tho' the King press'd them continually, and urg'd this more than any other Thing, he could get no other Answer from them but Complaints and Expostulations, why the King should suspect the States of *Scotland*. A great deal of Time is lost in these Debates, during which they are minding their own Business, applying to the Prince of Orange, and the greatest Men in the united Provinces, and to the *Danish* and other Ambassadors, that by their Mediation, as being neutral Persons, the King might be prevailed with to consent to their Requests. To them they often repeated the good Affections of the States of *Scotland* to the King, and that they were ready to admit him to his Father's Throne, receive him with all Affection, and shew all Duty, Allegiance and Faithfulness towards him, and that nothing hindred his Accession to the Throne, but that he would not renounce the Episcopal Government of the Church, and embrace the Presbyterian Model, which they said, was the same with the Church Government in *Holland*, the *Palatinat*, *Geneve*, and other reformed Churches, tho' the Truth is, it is very different, and in many Things quite contrary. At the same Time they affirmed, that if he did not come into those Measures, there could be no Hopes of his receiving the Royal Dignity and Authority. These Discourses would have had little Effect on most they applied

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Memory, which they had not supported them, by approving and applauding all they said, by whose Means especially it fell out, that many were of Opinion, That the King considering the present State of Affairs might and ought to grant their Requests, tho' unjust and unreasonable. For these Foreigners being unacquainted with *British* Affairs, could not penetrate into the dark Designs of the Rebels, nor perceive the Snares that were laid for the King, and all Kingly Government.

That all Christendom might know the Kings Love of Peace, and that he would do every Thing consistent with his Honour, and with a good Conscience, to satisfy his *Scottish* Subjects, he applies to the *Scots* Peers, of whom there were a great many then in *Holland*, and charged them on their Allegiance, to give in Writing their Opinion of the Demands of the *Scots* Commissioners; *Hamilton* and *Lauderdale*, with an obstinate and unbecoming Sullenness, refused this, tho' it be an ancient Custom, and according to the Laws of *Scotland*; *Montrose*, *Seaforth*, *Kinoul*, *Sinclair* and others, comply'd, they publicly declar'd and prov'd by many Arguments, *That the Demands were against all Laws Humane and Divine, and particularly against the Laws of Scotland, That they were disrespectful to the Memory of the Royal Martyr, insidious to his Son and Successor, dangerous to Posterity, and such as all good Men ought to be ashamed of and abhor, That the Design of these Demands could be no other but to lay the Blame of all the Mischief that had happened in Britain on the deceased innocent King, and to admit and authorize these unlawful Leagues and Covenants that had occasioned the Effusion of innocent, Noble, yea Royal Blood, would cause new Tumults, Seditions, Rebellions, Murders and Devastations of the Country. That the young King, who ought to succeed his Father as Sovereign Prince, may have only the empty Name, not the Authority or Power of a King. That his Title, and even the Enjoyment of Life may be precarious, and he depend for both, on the most melancholly, hypocondriack, deluded and furious of Mankind, the irreconcilable Enemies of Kings and all supreme Powers. That all Authority and Power may be lodg'd with them, who being conscious of what they have done against the Father, can never think themselves in Safety, as long as any of his Posterity were alive. That the Episcopal Government, under which Religion had so much prospered in all Ages of the Church, both*

before

before and since the Reformation, may be abolished, and the intolerable Tyranny of Presbytery, as it is now in Scotland, introduced, which far surpasses in Cruelty, Pride, Avarice, Ambition and Luxury, the worst Times of the Papacy. That the worst of Rebels and Regicides may not only go unpunished for their execrable Actions, but also being dignified with great Titles advanced to great Places, and enrich'd with the Spoils of the Church Lands, and of their murdered Sovereign's Crown-Revenues, may also reign and rule all; boast, glory and triumph in such a Conquest. On the contrair, That the King himself and his Posterity, and all his Loyal and Brave Subjects, who always adhered to him, may be exposed to the Hatred, Insolence, Reproaches and Revenge of the most malicious Men in the World; That a Christian King, against all the Duty he owes to his Parents, Brethren, Friends, God and Men, should approve, applaud and confirm all their wicked Ordinances for promoting and propagating their solemn League and Covenant, rising in Rebellion against their Sovereign, and persecuting all his Loyal and Faithful Subjects; Ordinances which brought the King to a deplorable End, drove his Royal Consort the Queen out of her Husband's Dominions, banished or imprisoned the Royal Infants, who still continue under these Calamities. In fine, That bloody Cromwel, with whom they corresponded, having subdued England, may also conquer Ireland, and then pour in all his Forces on Scotland as he sees Occasion.

For these, and many other Reasons they all declare, That the King could not on such unjust Terms, enter into any Stipulation with them, who, tho' wrongously, call'd themselves the States of Scotland; and that if any Regard was had to Conscience towards GOD, Duty to Parents, Concern for Posterity, Reputation Abroad, Safety at Home, Laws Humane or Divine, quite other Messages were to be expected from them, with other Requests, shewing some Sense of a serious, tho' late Repentance, and of a real Design to restore the King. And that there was no other Way to reclaim these Rebels that were hardened in their Wickedness, but by reducing them in a just and necessary War, and forcing them, against their own Inclinations, to be obedient and dutiful Subjects. These Reasons were so pungent, and the Strength of them so evident, there was no answering of them, either by the Commissioners of the States, or by Hamilton and Lauderdale, who did them all the Service they could. Therefore their Court failing, the King inclin'd to follow

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and the in follow *Montrose's* Advice. But I do'nt know by what Fa-
otland, ality, or by whose Advice the King went to *France*, and
rice, Amb the Descent on *Scotland* was chang'd to one on *Ireland*.
That the *Montrose*, and most part of the Nobility attended the King
unished fo to *Brussels*. The Commissioners of the States, in their usual
reat Titles Manner, accused, and most virulently aspers'd the King,
boils of the because he had not granted their Requests, and refused their
own-Reve Offers of Peace. In the mean Time they were overjoy'd,
triumph in as if they had obtained some great Victory, that the King,
himself and whose Presence in *Scotland* was so much wished for (the
who alway Scots being sufficiently weary of the Avarice, Pride, In-
Reproachence and Cruelty of the Rebels) had taken a quite other
That a Course.

CHAP. VI.

TO make a new Descent on *Scotland*, was inded a dan-
gerous Enter-prize, but not so rash and desperate as
many malicious Persons have foolishly reported. *Montrose*
had many Letters from the *Scottish* Nobility, inviting him to
head them, promising him all manner of Assistance and
undertaking for the rest of *Scotland*, that they would join
him, and would not have any other General. The Earl of
Seaforth's Brother, who was Sheriff, the Lord *Rae*, and
other Loyalists had possess'd themselves of *Inverness*, demo-
lished the Fortifications, and marching in Arms thro' *Mur-*
ray, had crossed the River of *Spey*. The State of Affairs in
Ireland was also very encouraging; for *Ormond*, the Lord
Lieutenant in that Kingdom, and General of the King's
Forces there, was very successful. *Monro*, and several
others afterwards were sent to him, with the King's Orders,
and *Montrose's* Letters, to stipulate with him a mutual
Assistance, as there should be Occasion. All the King's
Friends in *England*, and those that were not soured with
the Leaven of the Presbyterians, openly declar'd, That
they had been deceiv'd and deserted by the *Hamiltons*, and
that *Montrose* was the only *Scotsman* they could and ought
to trust, and that with him they would encounter any Dan-
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ger to retrieve the Affairs of their dearest Sovereign. Some of the Electors and Princes of *Germany* promis'd their Assistance, and the Emperor himself promis'd to summon a Diet of the Empire, and represent to them the Injuries done to the King, which ought to be abhorr'd, and resent'd by all Sovereigns in the World. There was no Reason for doubting of the good Affections of the King of *Denmark*; his Ambassador at the *Hague* promised great Things to the King and *Montrose*. There was as much to be expected from the Queen of *Sweden*, as from any other Friend or Allye of the King's, both on Account of ancient Alliances, and the innate Goodness, Justice and Magnanimity of that incomparable Heroine, who in these Virtues resembled very much her Father and Grandfather. It was thought, that the King of *Poland* and the Duke of *Courland* would be the first that assisted the King. Particular Envoys were sent to solicit them for Succours that might be conveyed to *Montrose*, who, notwithstanding never received any from them, not by default of the Princes themselves who were friendly enough; but by the base Artifices, and inexpressible Tricks of the Presbyterians, who will, if GOD do not prevent it; not only ruin *Montrose*, but also the King, Country, and Posterity.

Here there is a great Chasm in the Latin Manuscript; The Remainder of this Chapter is taken from a short Continuation of Montrose's History first published, about 70 Years ago.

Montrose Addresses himself to the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and *Holstein*; from the last of which, he receiv'd those Ships which were kept a great while at *Amsterdam* to no Purpose, being Three or Four very fair Vessels, and well manned. Which Prince would have willingly contributed more to that Service, but that he perceiv'd that which he had before given, to be so misemployed; wherein, both he and the Marquis were grossly abus'd, as in the ensuing Relation shall appear. Great were the Promises which had been made to the Marquis by many other Princes, but they proved very slack in the Performance, so that the Assistance which was so generally expected, proved nothing else but a meer Formality and Complement. But the Season of the

Year

gn. Some Year being now fit for Action, he resolves with what speed
 d their A he can, to call together those which he could get, and to
 o summo that Purpose removes to *Hamburgh*, from whence he might
 he Injuri ave a convenient Passage to the Northern Isles of *Scotland*.
 nd relente ere we further proceed, it will not be impertinent to
 no Reaso ur Purpose, to take a slender View of that Kingdom whi-
 ng of Dea ther this Expedition was intended, and of the Condition
 eat Thing herein it then was.

to be ex *Scotland* was then in a reasonable Posture of Quiet, for
 any othe the old Grudges, by taking away the Heads of Factions,
 of ancient whereof some had suffer'd at *Philip-haugh*, and others were
 d Magna detain'd Prisoners in *England*) were rak'd up for a while.
 se Virtue And a certain Number of Horse and Foot model'd into an
 r. It wa Army, was muster'd and dispos'd of in several Places of the
 f Cowlan Kingdom, to prevent any foreign Invasion, or any home-
 cular En bred Insurrection which might happen. These were com-
 might b manded by *David Lesly*, Colonel *Montgomery*, Colonel *Strar-*
 r receive chan, &c. Being in all Fifteen hundred Horse, and Three
 themselves thousand Foot, commanded by Lieutenant General *Holborn*.
 fices, an This Handful did at that Time overawe and keep under the
 l, if GOD discontented Party, though far more powerful. For, besides
 also the those which had been disbanded by the Earl of *Lamerick*,
 and Major General *Monro*, at the Bridge of *Stirling*, there
 flock'd daily out of *England* great Companies of those who
 had escaped out of Prison; who finding their Estates seque-
 strated and seiz'd upon, and withal, most tyrannically pro-
 ceeded against by the hot spirited Ministry, desired nothing
 more than an Opportunity of Revenge. Besides these, he
 had a considerable Number of his own Name and Faction
 in the North. The *Gordons*, the *Athol* Men, who (if he
 had not been crush'd at his first Entry) would certainly
 have assisted him. This Condition of the Kingdom, made
 the Marquis appear like a prodigious Meteor hanging over
 their Heads, which awak'd those at the Helm of the State
 (whom it did indeed most concern) to endeavour the de-
 feating of his Attempts both at Home and Abroad. For this
 Purpose was there a solemn Message dispatch'd to the Prince,
 then Resident at the *Hague*, whom presently upon the
 News of his Father's Death they had proclaimed King, in-
 viting him Home upon certain Conditions which were pub-
 lish'd in this Kingdom, and need not therefore be inserted.
 In the mean Time, the Marquis who had now gathered to-
 gether

gether a Company of gallant Gentlemen. as well *English* and *Scots*, makes all possible Haste, dispatches Colonel *John Ogilvy* to *Amsterdam*, to entertain such Strangers as might be for his Purpose. But he forgetting his Commission, bestowed both Money and Pains in entertaining himself, suffering those who upon any Terms would have engaged, to shift for themselves. There being a great Number who had fled out of *England*, and more who had lately deserted the *French*, or been cashier'd from the *Hollanders* Service. Thus were these goodly Vessels sufficiently provided for Service, lost by his Neglect, and a Limb of the Design broken. There happened about this Time another Business, which did much retard the Marquis's Affairs. Colonel *Cocbran* who had been dispatch'd Commissioner into *Poland* to the *Scots* Merchants there, to require their Assistance, having procur'd very considerable Sums of Money upon that Score, and other Provision for the furthering of that Expedition, dispos'd of the Money for his own Uses, made Sale of the Corn and other Provision, together with the Vessel which was provided for the Transportation of it, and did himself turn Tail to the Quarrel.

This was another Disappointment. General *King* likewise (whom the Marquis expected out of *Sweden*, with a considerable Party of Horse) either could not be ready so soon as was expected, or else delay'd the Time of Purpose. But the Marquis (as is supposed) fearing lest he should have an express Command to desist from his Purpose, because the Treaty betwixt the Prince and the *Scottish* Commissioners was now very near a Conclusion, did precipitate himself, and those that were with him, into a most inevitable Ruine. Now all those great Levies and Aids; those mighty Preparations for the Invasion of a Kingdom settled in a Posture of War, and well forewarn'd of his Intentions, amounted not above the Number of Six or Seven hundred at the most, Strangers and all. The common Souldiers which adventur'd over with him, were most of them *Holsteyners* or *Hamburgers*. He had sent him by the Queen of *Sweden*, for the Arming of such Gentlemen as should, upon his Arrival, betake themselves to his Party, Fifteen hundred Arms, complete for Horse, Back, Breast, Head-piece, Carabines, Pistols, and Swords, all which, (after his Defeat in *Cathnes*) were taken untouch'd. With this

small

English a small Preparation it was a desperate Action to attempt so
John O mighty a Business. And although his touching first upon the
 might be Islands, did encrease his Number; and gave him almost the
 a, bestow Beginning of an Army; yet were those barbarous People
 suffering so raw and unacquainted with Discipline, that they pro-
 to shift ved in a Manner uselefs and unserviceable. 'Tis true, the
 o had fled Inhabitants of those Isles, were a People in former Times,
 erted the very fierce, and warlike, and have under their own Cap-
 Service tains made many great Impressions into the very Heart of
 ived for the Kingdom. But, whether it was the Policy of the late
 sign bro Kings, to leave them untrain'd, of Purpose to break their
 Business, natural Fierceness, or because their own Captains being
 Colonel Coc quell'd or cut off, they car'd not much to engage under
 Poland any other: Certain it is, that Kingdom for Two hundred
 assistance, Years last past, hath not made less use of any they had
 upon that under their Jurisdiction, nor have they at this present less
 at Expe- Opinion of any *Scots*, for military Courage and Valour. And
 made Sale this may be alledged, as a great Cause of their Remissness
 ne Vessel and Unwieldiness, whilst they were in the Marquis's Service:
 and did I told you a little before of *Montrose's* whole Strength, which
 ing like- did accompany him from *Germany*, whereof two Ships,
 with a with near upon a third Part were sent before, but by Storm
 ready so of Weather (which is both frequent and dangerous)
 of Pur- amongst those Northern Islands, were lost, with all
 lest he the Men and Arms, nothing sav'd. This was another Check,
 his Pur- and as it were a Warning and a Fore-runner of the sad
 e *Scottish* Event which followed. But the Business being fatal, he
 did pre- must needs contribute his own Endeavours towards that
 o a most Destruction which his cruel Fortune had provided for
 d Aids; him. For, he nothing terrified with this Success, sends out
 Kingdom a second Party, which making a more prosperous Voyage,
 of his landed at *Orkney*, and enter'd the Island without any Re-
 or Seven sistance, there being at that Time no Garrison or De-
 common fence placed in any of those Islands, by the States of
 of them *Scotland*: Together with these he sent several Commissions
 Queen for levying of Horse and Foot: Immediately there were
 should, several dispatch'd to *Scotland*, and the Islands adjacent for
 Fifteen that Purpose. The People of the Country being in no Con-
 Head- dition to resist these Officers, endeavour'd, in hopes of Fa-
 after his vour, as much as they could to further the Design. And
 th this those who were not so earnest, were by their own Neigh-
 small bours, Favourers of the Cause, and these violent Commis-
 sioners,

sioners, forc'd to take up Arms. Not long after landed the Marquis himself with the Rest of his Company, together with those Gentlemen who were resolv'd to partake of his Fortune ; amongst whom were several Persons of Note. Colonel *Hurry* was there, a Man who had engaged in all Quarrels, but never prosper'd in any: The Lord *Frendraught*, for, his Kinsman the Lord *Napier* was left in *Holland*. Colonel *Johnson*, a resolute Man, and an old Soldier, Colonel *Gray*, a German Soldier, *Harry Graham*, his own natural Brother, Colonel *James Hay* of *Naughton*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgaty*, *George Drummond* of *Ballach*. For he had employed as was thought, Colonel *Sibbald* his Companion heretofore, as his Agent in *Scotland* ; But he was apprehended at *Musselburgh*, and did accompany his General in Death upon the same Scaffold.

The Marquis continued a considerable Time in *Orkney*, raising of Forces, and strengthening himself with such Recruits as the Place would afford. Neither was there any Preparation at all made in *Scotland*, to dispossess him of these Islands, either because it might be thought a difficult Business to assail him within those Places, naturally guarded with a rough and dangerous Sea ; or, because they knowing his Strength, expected a better Opportunity of him, as they found indeed within the Country.

After this poor Rabble of silly Creatures was amaz'd, he resolves at last to embark, and to that Purpose gathers all the Boats he could find, ships his Men, and in a short Space, lands them all upon the Point of *Cathnes* which is the farthest Land of the North West of *Scotland*. The People having some Experience of the Carriage of his former Soldiery, and now far more dreading the Name of Foreigners, partly by the terrible Reports which were constantly given out of him, fled away in Heaps, many of them not stopping till they came to the chief City, *Edinburgh*, and there gave the terrible Alarm to the Parliament then sitting. The Commanders were immediately summon'd and charg'd with all possible Haste, to get the standing Forces in Readiness, and a Rendezvous in Obedience to the States Command, was hereupon presently enjoin'd at *Brichen* Northward. Colonel *Strachan*, who was then in high Esteem with the great ones for his Valour lately expressed in the English Service, and his Zeal to the Presbyterian Cause, much extol'd at that

Time

Time, had an ample, and a particular Commission granted to him by the Parliament, to command a choice Party of Horse, which would not be subject to *David Lesly's* Orders, but might engage and fight with the Enemy at the best Advantage. With these, being not above Three hundred, he advanced before the Army; *David Lesly* with the rest of the Horse, and *Holborn* with the Foot marching after him. In the mean Time the Marquis advanced but very slowly, and that he might not be mistaken, (since all the World was much astonished at this Invasion now whilst the King was upon a Treaty) he published a Declaration; wherein he labour'd to clear himself of any Aspersions of sinister Ends. That his Intention was only against some particular Persons, who had against the Laws of the Kingdom, rais'd and maintained a war against the King's Father, and did now by their subtle Practices endeavour to destroy the Son also. That he intended nothing against the Generality of the Kingdom. Lastly, exhorting all subjects of that Nation, to endeavour to free themselves from the Tyranny of those who, for the present, ruled the State, and the Oppression of the Ministry. But the Country for several Causes did not come to second him as he expected. For, the Earl of *Sutherland*, a potent Man in those Parts, his Lands being next to the Place where the Marquis then was, rais'd a great Power of his Tenants and Friends, and did his best to terrify and hinder all that were willing to join with him. And though he found himself unable to deal with the Marquis's Forces, yet did he stop all Intercourse betwixt him and his Friends. And those Gentlemen who had heretofore followed him, and yet inclined to assist him, knowing the Danger of the Enterprize, considering the fewness of his Number, and that his Soldiers were much undisciplin'd, and unlike to the former, with whom he had done so great Things, began to be averse, and have a Suspicion of the Event. Yet have I heard some say, who knew well enough the Situation of that Country, that if he had not been oppressed in the Nick, he might have gain'd such Strengths amongst the Hills, as might have given him Leisure enough to have strengthened his own Party, and tyred out the Enemy. Howsoever, he was not altogether unmindful of a Retreat; there is in that Country a Castle call'd *Dumbath*, the Lord or Laird thereof, is the Head of

a very antient Family, but no Friend of the Marquis's. This Gentleman having left his House in the keeping of his Lady and some Servants fled to *Edinburgh*. The Lady, though the Place were naturally fortified, yet upon Summons, delivered it to Colonel *Hurrey*, who was sent thither by the Marquis with a Party of Foot to reduce it, upon Condition her Goods and Estate might be secur'd, and she with her Servants suffer'd to march away. *Hurrey* having placed a Governor, and a Garrison, as he thought, sufficient for the Defence of the Place, return'd to the Marquis, who was now advanc'd to the Place, or near it, where he was to lose at one Throw both his Life and his Fortune. The Marquis hearing of the Enemies Approach, made his whole Forces march at a great Trot to recover a Pass, which they were not very far from, when he himself in the Vanguard discover'd the first Party which was *Strachan's* forlorn Hope advancing very fast upon him. So that these with their Haste, and the Soldiers running, found them both out of Breath and Order. The second Party was commanded by *Strachan* himself, and the Rear-guard as I remember by Colonel *Ker*; for he had divided them in three Bodies. But now, the first Party being very near, there was a forlorn Hope of a hundred Foot drawn out to meet them, who giving Fire upon them, put them to a disorderly Retreat; but being immediately seconded by *Strachan's* Party, they made good their Charge, and so terrified the Islanders with that Breach, that most of them threw down their Arms, and call'd for Quarter. Only the *Dutch* Companies, after they had bestowed a Volley or two amongst the Horse, retreated into some Shrubs hard by, and there very valiantly defended themselves a while, but were all taken at last. There were kill'd in this Business to the Number of Two hundred, Twelve hundred taken, very few escaped. For the whole Country being in Arms, especially *Sutherland's* Men (who came not to the Fight, but to the Execution) they kill'd and took Prisoners all such as fled. In that Skirmish was taken the Standard which he had caus'd to be made, of Purpose to move the Affections of the People, with this Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cause, O Lord*; and the Portrait of the late King beheaded, exactly well done. The Standard-bearer, a very gallant young Gentleman, was kill'd, after he had several Times refus'd Quarter.

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*The following List of the Prisoners
was published at Edinburgh a few
Days after the Defeat of the
Marquis of Montrose.*

Lord Frendraught.
General Major Hurry.
Lieutenant Colonel Stewart.
Lieutenant Colonel Hay, Brother
to the Laird of Naughton.
Major Clark.
Captain Mortimer.
Rout-master Wallenson.
Peter Sans Captain of Dragoons.
Captain Warden.
Captain Auchinleck.
Captain Spotiswood.
Captain Charters.
Captain Lawson.
Captain Lieutenant Gustar.
15 Corporals.
3 Drummers.
2 Trumpeters.
386 Soldiers.
Mr. Kiddie } Ministers.
Mr. Meldrum }
Officers kill'd.
Laird of Pourie Ogilvie.
Laird of Pitfoddels younger
Standard-bearer.

Lieutenant Verkin.
Lieutenant Andrew Osen.
Lieutenant Robert Touch.
Ernestie Buerham.
Lawrence Van Luttenburg.
Lieutenant David Drummond.
Lieutenant William Ross.
Lieutenant Drummond.
Lieutenant James Dun.
Lieutenant Alexander Stewart.
Cornet Ralph Murray.
Cornet Henrick Erlach.
Cornet Daniel Bennick.
Robert Graham Ensign.
Hans Boaz Ensign.
2 Quartermasters
6 Serjeants.
John Douglas Brother to the
Earl of Mortoun.
Major Lylle.
Major Biggar.
Captain Stirling.
Captain Powal.
Captain Erskine.
Captain Swan.
Captain Garioch.
Lieutenant Home.

The Marquis, after he saw the Day was absolutely lost,
threw away his Cloak which had the Star on it (having
receiv'd the Order of the Garter a little while before) his

Sword was likewise found, and not very far off his Horse which he had forsaken. For, so soon as he had got clear off that Ground where the Skirmish was, he betook himself to Foot, and lighting upon one of that Country, or one of his own Soldiers (I know not whether) took his Highland Apparel from him, and so in that Habit conveyed himself away. But such narrow Search being made for him, he could not long escape, yet he continued in the open Fields three or four Days, without any Notice gotten of him. At last, the Laird of *Affint* being in Arms with some of his Tenants, and abroad in that Search, happened on him. He had been one of his Followers before. In that Place he had continued three or four Days, without Meat or Drink, with one only Man in his Company. The Marquis knowing him, and believing to find Friendship at his Hands, willingly discover'd himself. But *Affint* not daring to conceal him, and being greedy of the Reward which was promis'd to the Apprehender, by the Council of State, seiz'd upon him, and disarm'd him; 'Tis said, he profer'd great Sums for his Liberty, which being in vain, he desir'd to die by the Hands of those who took him, rather than be made an Object of Misery and Shame (as he knew very well he should) by his enraged Enemies: But neither of his Desires were granted; but in Place of them, a strong Guard set over him, and so convey'd to *David Lestly*. *Strachan* having atchiev'd his Business with great Expedition, and freed the State from this much fear'd Danger, return'd to *Edinburgh*, leaving the rest of the Business to *Lestly* and *Holborn*, where he receiv'd great Rewards and Thanks for his eminent Service, not without the great Heart-burning of *David Lestly*, who seeing a Rival risen up to his Honour, and one whom he look'd upon as an upstart Soldier, have so great Success, fretted not a little. Howsoever, forward he moves to accomplish the rest of the Work, which was now of no great Consequence; for there rested nothing within the Country, but only the Castle of *Dumbath*, which being out of all Hopes of Relief after the Defeat, so soon as they were perfectly assur'd by some Prisoners whom they knew yielded the Garrison. The Governor was Prisoner at *Mersey*; The Soldiers being *Dutch*, were upon Terms to return homewards. There was nothing else to be done, save the reducing of the Islands, and the Town of *Kirkcudbright*.

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n Orkney, where Colonel *Johnson*, and Colonel *Harry Graham* were left, when the Marquis pass'd over to *Caithness*; but *Montrose*, either because he could not spare any Soldiers, or because he expected better Success, had left them almost naked; though there were several Places in these Isles which might have been made very tenable. Colonel *Johnson* having understood of the Defeat, with those that were with him, took Shipping, and return'd from whence he came, so did *Harry Graham* likewise, else both of them had tasted of the same Sauce which their General did. Thus *Lesly's* Forces entred without any Resistance, seiz'd upon the Arms which *Montrose* had brought thither, together with two Pieces of Ordnance. The Queen of *Sweden* had given him a little Frigate of sixteen Guns, which lay in the Harbour, the Master of which being gone ashore into one of the Islands; the Company seeing the Event of the Business, revolted and brought in that likewise. The Victory being now complete, there was a solemn Day of Thanksgiving appointed through the whole Kingdom, Bonfires, shooting of Ordnance, and other Testimonies of Joy.

But many of the Gentry, who had been under his Command before, having now engaged with him again, were no Partakers in this Joy. For some of his Papers being taken, many of them were afterwards discovered, and suffer'd in their Estates. The Marquis being now in the Custody of his mortal Enemies, from whom he could not expect the least Favour, yet express'd a singular Constancy, and in a manner a Carelessness of his own Condition. Coming to his Father in Law's House, the Earl of *Southesk's*, where two of his Children were, he procur'd Liberty from his Guard to see them: But neither at Meeting or Parting, could any Change of his former Countenance be discern'd, or the least Expression heard, which was not suitable to the Greatness of his Spirit, and the Fame of his former Actions. 'Tis memorable of the Town of *Dundee*, where he lodg'd one Night, though it had suffer'd more by his Army than any else within that Kingdom, yet were they, amongst all the rest, so far from insulting over him, that the whole Town testified a great deal of Sorrow for his woful Condition; and there was he likewise furnished with Cloaths suitable to his Birth and Person.

All the following Chapter, is an old Translation of the Latin Manuscript, and was published in some Editions of Montrose's History, under the Title of A true and perfect Relation, of ail the Passages concerning the Examination, Trial and Death of the most Honourable James Marquis of Montrose, Earl of Kincardin, Lord Graham, &c.

CHAP. V.

THe Parliament of Scotland being informed that the Marquis of Montrose was taken, and foreseeing that his Countenance and Carriage might gain him some Favour amongst the People, thought fit to give out their Sentence against him before he should come to *Edinburgh*. And therefore upon the 17 of May Anno 1650. in the Morning, they appointed a Committee to prepare and give in their Opinions what was fittest to be done with him, where the same Forenoon they gave in their Report in Writing to this Effect: That so soon as he should come to the Town, he should be met at the Gate by the Magistrates and Hangman; That he should be tied with Cords upon a Cart bareheaded, and the Hangman to ride upon the Horse that drew the Cart covered before him, and so to be brought through the Town. That he should be hanged on a Gibbet at the Cross of *Edinburgh* until he died, his History and Declaration hanging about his Neck, and so hang three Hours in publick View of all the People: After which he should be beheaded, and quarter'd. His Head to be fix'd upon the Prison House of *Edinburgh*, and his Legs and Arms over the Gates of the Cities of *Stirling*, *Glasgow*, *Perth*, alias *Saint Johnstoun*, and *Aberdeen*. And in Case he repented, (whereby the Sentence of Excommunication may be taken off by the Church;) the Bulk of his Body should be buried in the *Grayfriars*; if not, to be buried in the *Borroquo-moor*.

Upon the 18th Day about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, he was brought in at the Watergate, and according to the Sentence, was met by the Magistrates, the Guards, and the Hangman

Hangman of the City, the rest of the Prisoners being tied Two and Two together, going bareheaded before him. So soon as he came within the Gate, the Magistrates shewed him the Sentence, which when he had read, and perceived the Cart and Hangman there ready, he said ; *He would willingly obey, he was only sorry that through him, His Majesty whose Person he represented, should be so dishonoured.* Then going cheerfully into the Cart, he being uncovered, was by the Hangman tyed thereunto with Ropes, and the Hangman on the Horse, rode covered : Thus was he carried to the Prison ; and in all the Way, there appeared in him such a *Majesty, Courage and Modesty*, no way daunted, That his very Enemies, nay common Women, who as it was believed by divers, would have stoned him in the Cart as he passed, were upon the Sight of him so astonished and moved, that their intended Curses were turn'd into Tears and Prayers for him : Infomuch, as the next Day (being Sunday,) the Ministers preached against them for not reviling and stoning of him as he passed along.

When he was taken from the Cart, he gave the Hangman, Gold, telling him, *That was a Reward for driving the Cart.* It was Seven o' Clock at Night before he was entred into the Prison, and immediately the Parliament met, and sent some of their Members and some Ministers to examine him : But he refused to answer any Thing to them, until he was satisfied upon what Terms they stood with the King, his Royal Master. Which being reported unto the Parliament, they ceased proceeding against him until Monday, and allowed their Commissioners to tell him, that the King and they were agreed. He desired to be at Rest, for he was weary with a long Journey, and he said, *The Complement they had put upon him that Day was somewhat tedious.*

The next Day being Sunday, he was constantly attended by Ministers and Parliament Men, who still pursued him with Threatnings, but they got no Advantage of him ; he told them, *They thought they had affronted him the Day before by carrying him in a Cart, but they were much mistaken : For he thought it the most honourable and joyfullest Journey that ever he made, GOD having all the while most comfortably manifested his Presence to him, and furnishing him with Resolution to overlook the Reproaches of Men, and to behold him, for whose Cause he suffered.*

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Upon Munday in the Forenoon, he was brought before the parliament, and after the Delivery of a long penn'd Discourse by the Chancellour Lowdon, wherein he was pleased to take Notice of his Miscarriages against the first Covenant, the League and Covenant, his Invasion, and joyning with the Irish Rebels, and Blood Guiltiness; and that now, how God had brought him to just Punishment: He desired to know if he might be allowed to speak for himself, which being granted, he said, Since you have declared unto me, that you have agreed with the King, I look upon you as if his Majesty were sitting amongst you; and in that Relation I appear with this Reverence bareheaded: My Care hath been always to walk as became a good Christian and a loyal Subject. I engaged in the first Covenant, and was faithful to it, until I perceived some private Persons under Colour of Religion, intended to wring the Authority from the King, and to seize on it for themselves; and when it was thought fit for the clearing of honest Men, that a Bond should be subscribed, wherein the Security of Religion was sufficiently provided for, I subscribed. For the league and Covenant, I thank God I was never in it, and so could not break it; but how far Religion hath been advanced by it, and the sad Consequences that have followed on it, these poor distressed Kingdoms can witness: For when his late Majesty had, by the Blessing of God, almost subdued those Enemies that rose against him in England, and that a Faction of this Kingdom went in to the Assistance of them, His Majesty gave Commission to me, to come into this Kingdom, and to make a Diversion of those Forces that were going from hence against him. I acknowledge the Command most just, and I conceive'd my self bound in Conscience and Duty to obey it: What my Carriage was in this Country, many of you may bear Witness. Disorders in any Army cannot be prevented, but they were no sooner known than punished; never was any Man's Blood spilt but in Battle, and even then, many Thousand Lives have I preserved; and as I came in upon his Majesty's Warrant, so upon his Letters did I lay aside all Interest; and retreated.

And for my coming in at this Time, it was by his Majesties Command, in order to the accelerating of the Treaty betwixt him and you; his Majesty knowing, that when ever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his Call. I may justly say, that never Subject acted upon more honourable Grounds, nor by a more lawful Power, than I did in this Service;

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vice ; and therefore I desire you to lay aside Prejudice, and con- sider me as a Christian in Relation to the Justice of the Quar- rel ; as a Subject in Relation to my Royal Master's Commands ; and as your Neighbour in Relation to the many of your Lives I have preserved in Battle ; and be not too rash, but let me be judged by the Laws of God, the Laws of Nature, and Nations, and the Laws of this Land : If you do otherwise, I do hear appeal from you, to the Righteous Judge of the World, who one Day must be both your Judge and mine, and who always gives Righteous Judgement.

This he delivered with such Gravity, and without Passion, as was much admired even of his Enemies. After which, the Chancellor commanded the Sentence to be read, which he heard with a settled and an unmov'd Countenance, and desiring to be further heard, was presently stop't by the Chancellor, who commanded he should presently be removed back again to Prison ; where being no sooner come, but the Ministers assault him afresh, aggravating the Terrour of the Sentence, thereby to affright him. He acknowledged himself much beholding to the Parliament for the Honour they put upon him, saying, He took it for a greater Honour to have his Head stand upon the Prison-Gate for this Quarrel, than to have his Picture in the King's Bed-chamber. And (lest his Loyalty should be forgotten) they had highly honoured him, in designing lasting Monuments to four of the chiefest Cities, to bear up his Memorial to all Posterity, wishing he had Flesh enough to have sent a Piece to every City in Christendom, to witness his Loyalty to his King and Country.

His Friends were not suffered to come near him, but a Guard was always in the Chamber with him, insomuch as he had neither Time, nor Place for his private Devotions, but in their hearing.

The next Day being the 21, cloathed in a Scarlet Cloak richly laced with gold Lace, he was brought to the Scaffold : He came along the Streets with so great State, and there appeared in his Countenance so much Beauty, Majesty, and Gravity, as amazed the Beholders ; and many even of his Enemies did acknowledge him to be the gallantest Subject in the World : But, because all his Friends and Well-willers were debar'd from coming near him, there was a Boy designed for that Purpose on the Scaffold

Scaffold, who took his last Speech, Which was to this Effect.

I am Sorry if this Manner of my End be scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the Righteous according to the Ways of the wicked? and to the Wicked according to the Ways of the Righteous? Doth not sometime a just Man perish in his Righteousness, and a wicked Man prosper in his Malice? They who know me, should not disesteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this Kind; yet I must not say, but, that all God's Judgements are just; for my private Sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God, I submit my self to him: But, in regard of Man, I may say, they are but Instruments, God forgive them, I forgive them, they have oppressed the Poor, and violently perverted Judgement and Justice; but he that is higher than they, will reward them.

What I did in this Kingdom, was in Obedience to the most just Commands of my Sovereign for his Defence in the Day of his Distress, against those that rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing, but fear God and Honour the King, according to the Commandments of God, and the Law of Nature, and Nations, and I have not sinned against Man, but against God, and with him there is Mercy, which is the Ground of my drawing near unto him.

It is objected against me by many, (even good People,) That I am under the Censure of the Church. This is not my Fault, since it is only for doing my Duty, by obeying my Prince's most just Commands, for Religion, His Sacred Person and Authority. Yet I am sorry they did excommunicate me; and in that which is according to God's Laws, without wronging my Conscience or Allegiance, I desire to be relaxed: If they will not do it, I appeal to God who is the righteous Judge of the World, and who must, and will I hope be my Judge and Saviour.

It is spoken of me, that I should blame the King (God forbid) for the late King, he lived a Saint and died a Martyr, I pray God, I may so end as he did; if ever I should wish my Soul in another Man's Stead, it should be in his. For his Majesty now living, never People I believe might be more happy in a King: His Commands to me were most just; in nothing that he promiseth will he fail. He deals justly with all Men, I pray God he be so dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under Trust as his Father was.

I desire not to be mistaken, as if my Carriage at this Time in Relation to your Ways were stubborn ; I do but follow the Light of my own Conscience, which is seconded by the working of the good Spirit of God that is within me. I thank him, I go to Heaven's Throne with Joy. If he enable me against the Fear of Death, and furnish me with Courage, and Confidence to embrace it even in its most ugly Shape, let God be glorified in my End, though it were in my Damnation. Yet I say not this out of any Fear or Distrust, but out of my Duty to God, and Love to his People.

I have no more to say, but that I desire your Charity and Prayers. I shall pray for you all. I leave my Soul to God, my Service to my Prince, my Good-Will to my Friends, and my Name and Charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my Conscience.

Being desired to pray apart he said, I have already poured out my Soul before the Lord who knows my Heart, and into whose Hands I have commended my Spirit, and he hath been graciously pleased to return to me a full Assurance of Peace in Jesus Christ my Redeemer ; and therefore if you will not join with me in Prayer, my reiterating again will be both scandalous to you and me. So closing his Eyes, and holding up his Hands, he stood a good Space at his inward Devotions, being perceived to be inwardly moved all the While. When he had done, he called for the Executioner, and gave him Money. Then having brought unto him (hanging in a Cord) his Declaration and History, he hang'd them about his Neck, saying, Though it hath pleased his Sacred Majesty that now is, to make him one of the Knights of the most Honourable Order of the Garter, yet he did not think himself more honoured by the Garter, than by that Cord with the Books, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much joy and Content, as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold, and therefore desired them to be tied unto him as they pleased.

When this was done, and his Arms tied, he asked the Officers, If they had any more Dishonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it. And so with an undaunted Courage and Gravity, suffered, according to the Sentence past upon him.

Thus ends the Latin Manuscript.

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What follows, is taken from a Supplement to Montrose's History, published about Seventy Years ago.

THe Death of the noble Marquis was not bewailed as a private Loss, but rather as a publick Calamity. The greatest Princes in Europe express'd no small Sorrow for his unhappy End. And indeed we have not had in this latter Age, a Man of more eminent Parts either of Body or of Mind. He was a Man not very tall, nor much exceeding a middle Stature, but of exceeding strong Composition of Body, and incredible Force, with excellent Proportion and Feature; dark brown hair'd, sanguine Complexion, a swift and piercing gray Eye, with a high Nose, somewhat like the ancient Sign of the *Persian King's* Magnanimity, He was of a most resolute and undaunted Spirit which began to appear in him, to the Wonder and Expectation of all Men, even in his Childhood. Whom would it not have startled to attempt as he did at his first Entry into *Scotland*? a Journey wherein he could not almost escape Discovery, all Passes being so lay'd for him; but even when he was known, and almost made publick, he proceeded in his Intention. He was a Man of a very Princely Courage, and excellent Addresses, which made him for the most Part, be used by all Princes with extraordinary Familiarity a complete Horseman, and had a singular Grace in riding. Nor is it less wonderful, how in so great Scarcity of all Things, when War in that Country is but tedious with the greatest Plenty it can afford, he could patiently endure so much Distress: Nor is it less to be wondred at, how he could win so much upon those *Irish*, who had no Tie to him, either of Country, Language or Religion, as he did; more especially, when they wanted not all Manner of Temptation, that either their own Miseries and intolerable Duty could suggest, or the Wit and Sagacity of the Enemy could invent to make them leave him, and abandon the Service; Besides, the many Examples shown upon them and their continual want of Pay, either of which Accidents in an Army is Ground enough, and has been many Times the Occasion of Mutiny and Desertion: Nor had he only

an excellent and mature Judgment for providing and forecasting of Business, but a prompt and ready Spirit likewise in Matters of present Danger and sudden Calamity ; and these Things which might have confused another Man's Understanding, as such sudden Chances often do, were a whetting to his Wit. There are many Stratagems in several Histories related, which in the Heat of an Action have been put in Practice for the regaining of a Day already lost, or in Danger to be so, as that of *Jugurtha*, a politick and valiant Prince, who in the Heat of a Battle betwixt him and *Marius* the Roman Consul, rode up and down in the Head of the Army, showing his bloody Sword, and affirming that he had slain *Marius* with his own Hand : Which Word did so encourage the *Numidians*, and amaze the *Romans*, that had not *Marius* in Time appeared, that Day had been in Hazard. It is likewise reported of one of the *Roman* Captains, that he slung his Standard amongst the middle of the Enemy, that his own Soldiers by pressing forward to rescue it, might break and disorder the Enemy. Likewise of another, that took the Bridles off the Horse Heads, that every Man might be alike valiant, and charge, as we say, without either Fear or Wit. But, beyond all these in my Opinion, was that Device of the Marquis, who at *Alderne*, being in a great Strait, one Wing of his Army being routed, and the other in a very staggering Condition, he did so incense that which was yet whole, with the feigned Success of the other, that they valiantly charged the Enemy, and put the Business again in to an even Ballance. And very like was it to that Device of *Tullus Hostilius*, who being deserted by *Metius* King of the *Albans*, told his Soldiers, he had don't of Purpose to try them, and by that Means turn'd their Fear into Indignation. He was exceeding constant and loving to those that did adhere to him, and to those he knew, very affable, though his Carriage, which indeed was not ordinary, did make him seem proud ; nor can his Enemies lay any greater Fault to his Charge, than his insatiable Desire of Honour, which he did pursue with as handſom and Heroick Actions as ever any did, and such as had neither Admixture of Avarice or self Ends, though he was therewith by some most unworthily branded. For these and the like Virtues of which he was the rich Possessor, he was lamented all Christendom over, by all Sorts of Men, and

since his Death too, by those who had the greatest Hand in't, though their Success at that Time did animate their Cruelty.

Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futura:

But the Tragedy was not yet full, for *Hurrey* was the next in that bloody Roll, who pleading the Benefit of Quarter, and a great Charge of Children, thought to have tasted of the Parliament's Mercy : But he was condemn'd notwithstanding, to lose his Head in the same Place. Jealous they were of him before, when he was engaged in their Service against *Montrose*, but could not produce any sufficient Evidence. The chief Accusations wherewith he was charg'd, were, the last Invasion with the Marquis, and his former carrying Arms against them under Prince *Rupert* at *Marston Moore*. With him suffer'd young *Spotswood* of *Daersee*, a complete young Gentleman, and very worthy of Pity, (if any had been shewn) being very young, but an excellent Spirit, and a good Scholar. The next Couple was Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgetie*, and Colonel *Sibbald*, than which Two, the Nation could not afford Two more accomplish'd for Person and Parts. The first being a Catholick, (and therefore not coming under the Compass of the Ministers Prayers) without speaking a Word to any Body, but throwing some Papers out of his Pocket, took off his Doublet, kiss'd the fatal Instrument, kneel'd down, and received the Blow. The other with a little more Vigour, smil'd a while, and talk'd to the disorderly Rabble about him : Then with such a Heroick Gesture, march'd to the Block, as if he had been to act a Gallant in a Play. The End of the last Man was somewhat comical, though the poor Gentleman lost his Life. His Name was *Captain Charters*, of an honourable and ancient Family in that Kingdom.

The Ministers having dealt with him to acknowledge his Fault publicly, and dehort all others from it (which from no other of his Companions they could ever extort) he, tho' resolute enough, and a good Scholar, yet partly by the perswasion of his Friends, and partly by the Weakness which was occasion'd by his Wounds, agreed to their Desire, and was content to make a publick Manifesto in Hopes his Life might be saved. With this Conquest of Conscience, the Ministers, (to produce their great Work

and in't, Cruelty. to the common People,) came vaunting upon the Scaffold. He all this while suspecting nothing less than Death, made a long and tedious *Harangue* to the People, wherein he acknowledged his Apostacy from the Covenant, and other Things which he had vented in auricular Confession before, to the Ministers, which very energetically they had penn'd for him. In Lieu of granting his Life which he expected, lest he should fall off from his Principles which he had openly professed as some of their Converts had done before, fairly they cut off his Head, and seal'd his Confession with his Blood. The rest being for the most Part Strangers, or such as had spent most of their Time in Service abroad, were dismiss'd, after Bond given, not to enter the Kingdom again, in a hostile Manner.

The Speech of Colonel William Sybbald, intended by him to have been spoken on the Scaffold at the time of his Execution at Edinburgh Jan. 7. 1650: But hearing that Liberty would not be given him to speak so freely, he gave a Copy of it to a special Friend.

Gentlemen, I am brought this Day to this Place, to pay a Debt to Nature before it be due: and by the Malice and Cruelty of my merciless Enemies, I am sentenced to die a Traitor to my Country, for endeavouring to do Service for my King, on whose Happiness and Well-fare does depend the Well-fare of these Kingdoms; and to whom I am bound both by the Law of God and Man to perform all faithful and loyal Service: And as the Cause for which I suffer; proclaim's my Loyalty; so their Sentence does declare to all the World, their Disloyalty, and their Intentions against the King.

Their Self-guiltiness makes cowardly Spirits cruel; and such was their Proceedings against me, as that I could not obtain an Advocate to plead for me, nor any Man skilful in the Laws, either to advise with me, or to write my Defence, though they knew me to be ignorant of the Laws. Thus is my Innocency and Integrity betray'd, partly, by their Malice, and my own Ignorance.

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The Truth is, they did proffer to do me any Courtesy or Favour, if I would make an ingenuous Confession, that is, accuse some Noblemen and Gentlemen of keeping Correspondency with his Majesty, or with the Marquis of *Montrose*; which if I had done, I deserved to have been branded with Perpetual Infamy; for I never knew any Man in this Kingdom that did keep Correspondency with them: neither had I Commission from his Majesty, or the Marquis of *Montrose* to treat with any. I did indeed speak with some Noblemen and Gentlemen, because I was formerly obliged unto them for their Love to me, and did expect from them small Assistance to furnish me in my Journey; but I never spake with them concerning the publick Affairs, no further than the weekly *Gazettes* made known to all the World. If these great Fish could have been taken in our Statesmens Nets, it might have been that such a Minnow as I, should have escaped the Bayliffe of the Fish Market's Hands this Day.

I have been from my Youth a Soldier; and though that Calling in it self be honourable, yet Men in that Calling have greater Occasions and Provocations to sin than in any private Calling. Besides, naturally my Youth led me to some abominable Sins, and Custom in them for many Years, detain'd me Captive unto them; so that I cannot but Confess, that to me appertaineth Shame and Confusion in this life, and Damnation of Soul and Body eternally in Hell's Fire, if God should deal with me according to my Desert. My Comfort is, that the Blood of my Saviour cries louder in his Ears for Mercy, than my Sins do for Vengeance; and that he who hath promised a free Pardon and Remission unto all penitent Sinners through Faith in Jesus Christ, will purge and cleanse my Soul from all Uncleanneſs, and deliver me from all Blood-guiltineſs, by the Blood of his Son our Saviour. The true Sorrow that I find in my Soul for my former Sins, and that godly Resolution and stedfast Purpose I have to lead a new life, if it please God to continue it, together with the Joy, the Patience, and the Courage I have to suffer, gives me some Assurance of this blessed Hope, that through Faith in Christ Jesus my Saviour, my penitent Soul, though sinful, shall be saved.

And as for my Religion, I die, as I lived, a true Protestant. This Religion, I thank God, as it preserved me from *Popish* Superstition, so it kept me from being seduced by the Novelties of the Times, and from being deluded with the wicked Doctrine which is now taught by the Reformers of the Kirk. It was this Religion which did keep my Hand from your Covenant: Of which, in the Space of some five Years, you gave two Interpretations, quite contradictory; for in the Year 1639, the Assembly, did affirm (as appears by our Acts of Parliament and Assembly) that in all Causes whatsoever, you were to defend and maintain the Person and Dignity of your King: But in the Year 1644. you limit your Obedience to your King, to your Religion, Laws, and Liberty, and make your selves, in all Differences between the King and you, both Judge and Party. The Religion in which I was bred, taught me to give both to God, and my King, their due; it taught me to honour and worship God, and to expect Salvation through Christ; and to live soberly, and to deal justly with all Men. I ever hated that Religion which made Saints or Angels Sharers with God in his Worship; or Men, partakers with my Redeemer in the Work of my Redemption, or that made our Christian Liberty, a Cloak of Maliciousness; and, though I, naturally inclined to Evil, and wicked Company, drew me to most heinous and filthy Sins; yet I thank God, I hated that Religion that taught Impiety and Wickedness, Rebellion, Murder and Injustice, or that approved the killing of Kings and their Loyal Subjects for their Loyalty, as having its Original rather from the Devil, who was a Murderer from the Beginning, than from God; and I did ever esteem it more agreeable to Man's sinful and corrupted Nature, than to GOD's holy Word. I have heard a learned Man say, That it were better to deny GOD to be, than to believe him to be such an one, who delights in the bloody Sacrifices of Men and Women, or to think that he is such an one who delights in Cruelty and Murder; The God whom we serve and worship, is the Saviour of the World, the Preserver of Man, the Redeemer of Mankind, the Avenger of his Blood. I have been taught from God's Word, that he hath no Pleasure in Wickedness, neither shall any Evil dwell with him; undoubtedly such bloody Sacrifices cannot

not be pleasing or acceptable to him, for they are repugnant to his Nature, and contradictory to the Justice and Equity of his holy Law.

It is my greatest Grief at this Time, that I did not walk, according to the Purity of my Religion, and the Holiness of God, who hath called us to the Knowledge of his Truth: Therefore, let me intreat you to pray unto God with me, and for me, that he would be pleased to pardon my many and great Sins; that he would purge my Soul with the Blood of his Son, from the Guilt and pollution of all my Sins; that I may be presented unto my Heavenly Father without Spot or Wrinkle, holy, without Blemish; that he would receive me through the Merits of my Saviour, into everlasting Peace, and into the glorious Estate of his chosen Saints in Heaven. O Lord, into thy hands I commend my Soul; Lord Jesus receive my Spirit; O merciful Father, forgive my Enemies, and lay not this Sin to their Charge, *Amen.*

F I N I S.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

To the History of the

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I N

SCOTLAND;

Containing a Description of *Montrose's* Pompous Funerals in the Year 1661. 2dly, A Character of King *Charles* the 1st, by the Famous Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, on his Death-Bed. 3dly, *Montrose's* Declaration when he returned to Scotland, Anno 1650. 4thly, The Declaration of the Commission of the Kirk, in Answer to it. 5thly, Two Poems done by *Montrose*.

A S A L S O

Fifteen Letters to *Montrose*, from King *Charles* the 1st, His Queen, King *Charles* the 2d, and Prince *Rupert*.

Now first published from the Originals, in the Hands of the Publisher.

Printed in the Year 1720.

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APPENDIX
To the History of the
Civil Wars
I N
SCOTLAND;
B E I N G
A Relation of the true Funerals of
the Great Lord Marquis of
MONTROSE, &c.

G O D Almighty's Justice and Revenge
of Murther is so frequently recor-
ded by many famous Historians,
that nothing shall be said here on
that Theme in general, lest I should grate on
a 2 some

some, who though subtle, have been surprized in their Subtilty, while they divested themselves of Christian Maxims, to raise themselves through humane Policy by the Ruine of the most Eminent, and yet that their promised Stability hath been overturned, and their cut-out wayes damped and overclouded with Abysses and Darkeness: The Briquals and Returns of Providence of this Nature, discovered in our late unnatural civil War, are Testimonies sufficient to convince and confound the most peremptory *Atheist* of the Eternal and Immortal Deity, that will suffer no Wickedness (under what specious Pretences soever, of *Reformation* or good Cause) to pass unpunished. I shall not mention these ambitious Spirits who grounded their proper Advancement by overthrowing Religion and Law, how I say, some of them Vagabounds are exposed to Shame and deserved Obloquie. But the divine Providence teacheth us to make this difference, that when Vertue and Loyalty hath groaned and suffered under Tyranny and Oppression, in the end they have been crowned with Fame and Admiration, as our dread Sovereign and noble Parliament would have it witnessed in the Celebration of the great Marquis of *Montrose's* Funerals, in the highest and most magnificent Grandure, to counterballance the Height of malicious Invention exercised on him to the full. The Particulars of the honourable Ceremonies will in true and exquisit Herauldry display the several Dignities he had, either as a Peer of the Land, or charged with his Majesty's Service: So in a proportionable Manner we shall

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shew the Honour done to the Memory of that renowned Colonel, Sir *William Hay* of *Delgity*, who suffering Martyrdom with him in the same Cause, ambitioned his Funeral under the same infamous Gibbet, prophetically certainly, that he might participate with him the same Honour at his first bodily Resurrection: This, his Request was easily assented to by these monstrous Leeches, whose greatest Glory was to be drunk and riot in the Blood of the most faithful Subjects; nay even some of those whose Profession should have preached Mercy, belched out that the *Good Work went bonnily on*, when the Scaffold, or rather Shambles at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, for the Space of Six Weeks was daily smoaking with the Blood of the most valiant and loyal Subjects. But we proceed to the Funeral Pomp, hoping that these glorious Martyrs are praising and glorifying God, while we are amusing our selves in this scantling transitory following Description: From the Abbay Church of *Holy Rood-house* to that of *St. Gyles* in the high Town, the Funeral Pomp was as followeth,

Two Conductors in Mourning with black Staves.

Twentyfive Poor in Gowns, and Hoods, the first of which went alone next to the Conductors carrying a Gumpheon, the other twentyfour following two and two, carrying the Arms of the House on long Staves.

An open Trumpet cloathed in rich Livery of the Marquis's Colours, carrying his Arms on his Banner.

Sir

Sir *Hary Grabame* in compleat Armour on Horseback, carrying on the Point of a Lance, the Colours of the House, this noble Gentleman accompanied his Excellence in all his good and bad Fortunes, both at home and Abroad.

Servants of Friends in Mourning two and two

The great Pincel with his Arms carried by *John Graham* of *Douchrie*, a renowned Highland *Hector*, and one who stuck peremptorily to the present Marquis of *Montrose* in the last Expedition under his Grace the Lord Commissioner, he is best known by the Title of *Tetrarch of Aberfoyl*.

The great Standard in Colours, with his Arms, carried by *Thomas Graham* of *Potento*, a hopeful Cadet of the Ancient Family of *Clarrisse*.

An Horse of War, with great Saddle and Pistols, led by two Lacquies in Livery.

The Defunct's Servants, two and two in mourning.

An Horse in State, with a rich Footmantle, two Lacquies in rich Livery, and his Parliament Badges.

Four close Trumpets in Mourning, carrying the Defunct's Arms on their Banners.

The great Gumpheon of black Taffety carried on the Point of a Lance by *William Graham* younger of *Duntrun*, another sprightful Cadet of the House of *Clarrisse*.

The great Pincel of Mourning, carried by *George Graham*, younger of *Cairnie*, who from his first Entry to Manhood, accompanied his Chief in the Wars.

The Defunct's friends, two and two in Mourning.

The great Mourning Banner carried by *George Graham* of *Inchbrakie* younger, whose Youthhead only Excused him from running the Risks of his Father.

The Spurs carried on the Point of a Lance by *Walter Graham* elder of *Duntrun*, a most honest Royalist, and highly commended for his Hospitality.

The Gantlets carried by *George Graham* of *Drums* on the Point of a Lance, a worthy Person well becoming his Name.

The Head Piece by *Mungo Graham* of *Gorthie* on the Point of a Lance, whose Father had sometimes the Honour to carry his Majesty's Standart under his Excellency, his great sufferings and forfeiture is enough to speak his Action and Honesty.

The Corflet by *George Graham* of *Monzie* on the Point of a Lance, a brave young Gentleman, whose Father fell in his Majestys Service under the Defunct.

A Banner all in Mourning by *John Graham* of *Balgowne*, who likewise hazarded both Life and Fortune with his Chief.

The Lord Provost, Baillies and Burgeses of *Edinburgh*, two and two all in deep Mourning.

The Burgeses Members of Parliament in Mourning, two and two.

The Barons Members of Parliament, two and two in Mourning.

The Nobles in Mourning, two and two.

Next

Next followed the Eight Branches, first of the Mother Side.

Halyburton Lord Dirleton, carried by William Halyburton of Bittergask.

Douglas Earl of Angus, by Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerstoun, a most worthy Person and great Sufferer for his constant Adherence to his Majesty's Interest.

Stewart Lord Methuen, by Stewart Sheriff of Bute, it is to no Purpose to commend their Loyalty, or to doubt of it when the Relations of their Predecessors to his Majesty's Progenitors is considered.

Ruthven of Gowrie, by William Ruthven Baron of Gairns, a Gentleman of clear Repute and Honesty suitable to his Noble and Valiant Cousin the Earl of Forth and Brandford.

Next on the Father Side.

Keith Earl of Marjhal, by Colonel George Keith, Brother to the said Earl, a Noble Gentleman, whose Behaviour in His Majesty's Service discovered him a worthy Inheritor of his illustrious Progenitors.

Fleeming Earl of Wigtoun, by Sir Robert Fleeming, Son to the said Earl, a gallant Soul, carved out for his King and Country's Service, as are all his Family, witness, his Noble Uncle Sir William Fleeming.

Drummond

Drummond Earl of *Perth*, by *Sir James Drummond* of *Machyn*, One, whose Fidelity to King and Country was never brought in Question.

Graham Marquis of *Montrose*, by *James Graham* Baron of *Orchel*, whose Life and Fortune never caused him scruple to advance the Royal Interest.

The Arms of the Defunct in Mourning by *James Graham* of *Buclevy* Son to the Baron of *Fentry*, a Gentleman whom nothing could ever startle from his Majesty's Service, and that he was a Favourite of the deceased, and accompanied his Son in the late Highland War, is sufficient to speak his Praises.

An Horse in close Mourning led by two Lacquies in Mourning.

Four close Trumpets in Mourning, with the Defunct's Arms on their Banners.

Six Pursevents in Mourning with their Coats displayed, two and two.

Six Heraulds with their Coats, as followeth,

The first carrying an antick Shield with the Defunct's Arms on it.

The second carrying his Crest.

The third his Sword.

The fourth the Targe.

The fifth the Scroll and Motto.

The sixth his Helmet.

Two Secretaries, Master *William Ord*, and Master *Thomas Saintserf*.

Then Doctor *Middelton* and his Chaplain.

His Parliament Robes carried by *James Graham* of *Killern*, a Gentleman whose Merit, besides his Birth, procured this noble Employment.

The General's Batton, by *Robert Graham* elder of *Cairnie*, a brave and bold Gentleman, who from the Beginning of his Chief's Enterprises, never abandoned him, and one whose Fortune endured all the Mischiefs of Fire and Devastation.

The Order of the Garter by *Patrick Graham* Baron of *Inchbrakie* elder, a Person most eminent for his Services upon all Occasions, and the only Companion of the Defunct when he went first to *Athol*, and published His Majesty's Commission.

The Marquis Crown carried by Sir *Robert Graham* of *Morphie* younger, a Noble Person, no less renowned for his Affection to Royalty than for his Kindness and Hospitality amongst his Neighbour Gentry.

The Purse carried by *David Graham* Baron of *Fentry*; this Noble Gentleman's Predecessor was the Son of the Lord *Graham*, then Head of the House of *Montrose*, who upon a second Marriage on King *James* the first his Sister, begot the first Baron of *Fentry*, which in a Male Line hath continued to this Baron, and as their Births were high, so their Qualifications hath in every Respect been great: For in all Ages since their Rise, nothing unbecoming loyal Subjects, or Persons of Honour, could be laid to their Charge; and he who possesseth it now, can claim as large a Share as any of his Ancestors.

Next, Before the Corps, went Sir *Alexander Durham* Lion King at Arms, with His Majesty's Coat displayed, carrying in his Hand the Defunct's Coat of Honour.

The Corps was carried by fourteen Earls, viz.

The

The Earls of *Mar, Mortoun, Eglington, Caithnes, Winton, Linlithgow, Home, Tillibardin, Roxburgh, Seaforth, Callendar, Annandale, Dundee, Aboyn.*

The Pale above the Corps was likewise sustained by twelve Noblemen, *viz.* The Viscounts of *Stor- mont, Arbuthnet, Kingstoun*, the Lords *Strathnaver, Kilmaurs, Montgomery, Coldingham, Fleeming, Gask, Drumlanerk, Sinclair, M'Donald.*

Gentlemen appointed for relieving those who carried the Coffin under the Pale.

Earls Sons, *Sir John Keith Knight Marshal, Robert Gordon, Alexander Livingstoun, Sir David Ogilvie*, the Barons of *Pitcurr, Powrie, Fotheringham, Cromlis, Abercairny, Ludwharne, Denholm, Mackintosh, Balmedie, Glorat, Caboun, Braco, Craigie, Morphie, Balloch* elder and younger, and the ingenious Baron of *Minorgan* and *John Graham of Creekie* who likewise accompanied the Lord Marquis in his Travels in *France and Italy.*

Next to the Corps went the Marquis of *Montrose* and his Brother as chief Mourners, in Hoods and long Robes, carried up by two Pages, with a Gentleman Bare-headed on every Side.

Next to him followed Nine of the nearest in Blood, three and three in Hoods and long Robes carried up by Pages. *viz.*

The Marquis of *Dowglas*, the Earls of *Mar- shal, Wigtoun, Southesk*, Lords of *Drummond, Matherti, Napier, Rollo*, and Baron of *Luz* Nephew to the Defunct.

Next to the deep Mourners went my Lord *Commissioner* his Grace in an open Coach and six Horses

Horses all in deep Mourning, six Gentlemen of Quality going on every Side of the Coach in deep Mourning Bare-headed.

The Corps of Sir *William Hay* of *Delgity* followed in this Order.

Captain *George Hay* Son to Sir *John Hay* late Clerk Register carried the Standard of Honour. *William Ferguson* of *Badyfarrow* the Gumpheon. Master *John Hay* the Pinsel of Honour. *Alexander Hay* the Spurs and Sword of Honour.

Master *Hary Hay* the Croslet.

Master *Andrew Hay* the Gauntlets.

Next followed his four Branches.

Hay, House of *Arrol* carried by *Alexander Hay*.
Lesly, House of *Bonwhoyne* by *George Lesly* of *Chapleton*.

Forbes of the House of *Forbes* by *Forbes* of *Lesly*.

Hay of *Delgity*, by *Robert Hay* of *Perk*.

Two cloffe Trumpets in Mourning.

Then the Corps garnished with Scutchions and Epitaphs, attended by the Earl of *Erroll*, Lord high Constable of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Buchan*, *Tueddale*, *Dumfries*, *Kinghorn*, the Viscount of *Frendraught*, the Lords *Rae*, *Frazer*, *Foster*, Master *Robert Hay* of *Dronlaw*, *George Hay* of *Kinninmouth*, with a Multitude of the Name of *Hay* and other Relations.

As the good Town of *Edinburgh* was never wanting to the Celebration of Loyal Solemnities, so they appeared highly magnificent in this; for their Trained Bands in gallant Order ranged both Sides of the Streets twixt the two Churches: And as the Corps of the great *Montrose* was laying in the Grave of his Grandfather who was Vice-Roy, they did nothing but fire excellent Vollies of Shot, which was answered with thundering of Canon from the Castle; the same was done to the Baron of *Delgity* as he was Inter-ring by his General's Side. There were two Things remarkable, the one, That before the beginning of the Solemnity, there was nothing but stormy Rains; but the Corps no sooner came out, but fair Weather with the Countenance of the Sun appeared, and continued till all was finished, and then the Clouds returned to their Frowns, and the Storm begun afresh. The other, it was observed, That the Friends of both the deceased had wedding Countenances, and their Enemies were howling in dark Corners like Howlets. Some say, that there was then a kind of collective Body, or sort of spiritual Judicatory in Town that would not be present at the Funeral, lest the Bones of both should bleed.

Never funeral Pomp was celebrate with so great Jollity, neither was it any Wonder since we now enjoy a King, Laws, Liberty, Religion, which was the only Cause that the Deceased did so bravely fight for: And who would not be good Subjects, since there is so great Honour pay'd to their Memories, when we see Traitors for their Villany has their Carcasses raised and hung upon
Gibbets

Gibbets, as was the late *Cromwel* and others? All that belonged to the Body of this great *Hero* was carefully recollected, only his Heart, which two Days after the Murder, in Spight of the Traitors, was, by the Conveyance of some adventoracious Spirits appointed by that Noble and Honourable Lady, the Lady *Napier* taken out and imblamed in the most costly Manner, by that skilful Chirurgeon and Apothecary Mr. *James Callender* ; then put in a rich Box of Gold, and sent by the same Noble Lady to the now Lord Marquis who was then in *Flanders*.

The Solemnities being ended, the Lord Commissioner with the Nobility and Barons had a most sumptuous Supper and Banquet at the Marquis of *Montrose's* House, with Conforts of all Sort of Musick.

Nothing here was wanting for completing the Solemnities, but the good old Custom of a Sermon, which (in Regard of the true and excellent Character of the great *Montrose*, given by that learned and ever loyal Doctor *George Wishart* in his Book, *De rebus Montis-ros. &c.*) was the more easily dispensed with, and indeed it is a sufficient Monument to perpetuate his memory to Eternity: However, because the Book is in the Language of the Beast, which haply some will scruple at, and many not understand, for their Satisfaction, I have glanced at the Characters of these two Noble and Crowned Martyrs. And, *First*, It is known that he is Head and Chief of that most ancient and famous Family of *Grahams*, called in our old *Scots* Language, the great *Graham*. The Rise of the Race is from that *Graham* so famous in History,

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Father in Law to *Fergus* the second King of *Scotland*, from whom he received Lands for his signal Service, in demolishing the *Vallum Severi*, which to this Day is known by the Name of *Graham's* Dike, and is still in Possession of the Noble Marquis of *Montrose*. If the Heroick Actions of this late Martyr could be more splendid by these of his Ancestors, we could mention the valiant *Graham*, who so often baffled the *Danes* then Masters of *England*, and Sir *John* the *Graham* who gave so much Trouble to *Edward* King of *England*, who took Occasion of the Difference twixt the *Bruce* and *Balliol* to invade our Country's Liberties. But these and many others of that ancient Race I pass to hasten to our Martyr, only this, his Grandfather's Memory is yet fresh for his great Services to King and Country, both as Lord high Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Viceroy of this Kingdom, his Father likewise for his singular Eminencies, both of Body and Mind, inferiour to none, who after he had acquit himself most honourably of several Royal Embassies, was to the great Loss of his Country taken away by untimely Death. But to pass much which might be said of the Fame of his Progenitors, I shall acquaint you with what I know my self (having followed him several Years in his Expeditions) and what I have learned from others of good Name and Credit. He was of a middle Stature, and most exquisitely proportioned Limbs, his Hair of a light Chesnut, his Complexion twixt pale and ruddy, his Eye most penetrating, though inclining to Gray, his Nose rather Aquilin than otherwise: as he was strong of Body and Limbs, so was he most agil, which
made

made him excel most of others in these Exercises where these two are required : In riding the great Horse, and making Use of his Arms, he came short of none ; I never heard much of his Delight in Dancing, though his Countenance and other his bodily Endowments were equally fitting the Court as the Camp : In his younger Days he travelled *France* and *Italy*, where he made it his Work to pick up the best of their Qualities. necessary for a Person of Honour, having rendred himself Perfect in the Academies. His next Delight was to improve his Intellectuals, which he did by allotting a proportionable Time to reading, and conversing with learned Men, yet still so, that he used his Exercise as he might not forget it ; he studied as much of the Mathematicks as is required for a Soldier ; but his great Study was to read Men, and the Actions of great Men : Thus he spent three Years in *France* and *Italy*, and had surveyed the Rarities of the East, if his domestick Affairs had not obliged his Return Home, which chanced at that Time the late Rebellion began to peep out, the Conspirators knowing his great Abilities, and the great Esteem he had amongst the People, sought by all Means to ensnare him with themselves, and so wrought in him a Discontent, that notwithstanding his Grandfather's, his Father's eminent Services, together with his own Merits so highly deserving, yet he had not the Honour of being Counsellour : Besides, they knowing how good a Patriot he was, they left not that String untouch'd, by perswading, that his Majesty intended to province us, and to introduce Popery : With which and the like cunning Forgeries born in upon him by

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some setting, &c. kept a purpose for that Use: They got him associate in the Cabal, but his generous Soul soon after his Engagement, smok't out their Hypocrisies and rotten Enterprises, and from that Time which was in the latter End of the Year 1639. He abandoned them and faced about to his Allegiance, resolving to sacrifice all was precious to him in his Majestys Service, and accordingly discovered all the Engines of the Plot, the Circumstances of which must be left to the Historians of the Time. In the End of the Year 1643. When a great Party of our Nation had ben involved against the King in *England*, he with the help of a Thousand *Irish* gave opportunity to the Royal Party to bestir themselves and join with him, with whom he established an Army more consisting in the Valour, than Number of the Persons, as was seen in a Years Space, in which he clearly gained six Battels, where there fell 20000. of the Rebels. In the Management of this Service, though he had never been bred a Souildier, yet he shewed admirable Knowledge in the Art of War, and though he never confined himself to the Practice of other Nations, yet he never did any Thing but with strong Reason, his Stratagemis seldom missing of being Successful, his Vigilance and Toil were wonderful, that the Enemy knew not where he was till he was on them, and he again never ignorant of their Place, Strength and Condition: His Fight was still on the Plains, though the Hills were advantagious to him, his Cavalry not being the fourth Part of the Enemies, but all of Gentlemen, particularly of these noble Families

Families of *Gordons* and *Ogilvies*: He shewed greatest Chearfulness in his greatest Extremities; if his Infantry at any Time scrupled the wading of little Rivers, he was the first dismounted to shew others the Way, and this banished all repining: He accustomed himself to coarse feeding, and constant drinking of Water, he knew they were still to be found, so that the want of Delicacies should be no Temptation to him to weary of the Service: He had many Opportunities of large Sums of Money, but shunned the making Use of them, knowing he could never enjoy both their Hearts and Purse, ever inculcating to them that his Majesty demanded nothing but the Performance of their Duty in Point of Allegiance. Indeed the Propagators of the *good Cause* had a Religious way to enrich themselves by flaying to the very Skin, the Royal Party, whom they termed *Egyptians*. It was wonderful with what Dexterity he kept his Army intire without Pay, or Plunder, which his Behaviour did strangely undeceive the People, that neither his Majesty nor his Followers were such Heathens as they were held out to them by their black mouth'd Juries: Nay, he was most happy in restoring fanatical Enemies to their Wits, either by convincing them of their erroneous Course, or perswading them to join with him, and this was according to one of his own Principles, viz. *That a Person in publick Employment should rather court the People for his Prince's Interest, than his Prince for his own*. If this Rule were exactly followed by all Favourites, it would smother all dangerous Heart-burnings, and contribute highly

to secure the Peoples Affections to their King. His vast Knowledge in Military and State Affairs was admirable, he was pleasant and witty in Conversation, with an Affability in private becoming a Comrad; scandalous and obscene wit durst not appear before him. In this sort he made War in *Scotland* against his Majesties Enemies for the Space of eighteen Months, bearing the Trophies of six Battels, with the defeat of six Armies: And no doubt he had continued Victorious, if the Art of Trepaning had not been prevalent, however the Slur he received at *Philipshaugh* was not the Cut-throat of his Majesties Army, for through his Enemy he made Way to his Friends in the *North*, though far off, where his Presence gave Life to drooping Spirits, and in a short Time made up so considerable Forces as could give Check to the insulting Enemy: But his Majesty coming to *Newcastle*, put a Period to that War: Here our *Hero* was as conspicuous for his passive Obedience as either he or his noble Ancestors were for their most deserving Actions: His Army he had so endeared to him, that they would have followed him upon any Account, but according to the Commands received from his Majesty he capitulated nobly for these Gentlemen who had accompanied him in the Service; which Capitulation was most sacredly and inviolably kept by that noble Person who treated with him. The Marquis in Obedience to his Majesties Orders went to attend the Queens Commands at *Paris*, where he stayed for some Time, casting about and designing in several Nations what was con-

ducible for his Majesties Recovery; at length weary of Delays, and Impatient of Action, he came to be surprized, as he was enterprising to come to his ancient Friends, whose gallant Behavior in the former War had made both him and them so Famous. I shall not speak of his barbarous Usage whilst he was Prisoner; because they were Countrymen and pretended to be Christians; but as to himself, never Martyr for the Cause of Christ went with greater Cheerfulness to the Fire, than he did imbrace all the Indignities put on him, and all without Vanity or Pageantry as many are used to do on such Occasions: His Composedness and Gravity can scarce be mentioned without Hyperbole's, when he was reviled and the Lie put upon him (by him whom *Caledonius* called the *Athenian Hocus*) he returned no other Answer, than that he had heard him speak to better Purpose at other Times. He was frequent in his Devotions and heavenly Meditations, and having reconciled himself with a true Contrition to his gracious GOD, he advanced to finish his Course with a courageous Gravity and pious Modesty, as his glorious Martyred Master had done before; which Carriage turned the Hearts of his Enemies who came to insult at the Butchery, and generally the Barbarity of his Usage was condemned by all; and truly it is to be regrated to think how some on the Scaffold (especially a little Levite) laboured to discompose his Soul by their horrid Upbraidings and Reproaches, but his unspeakable Christian and mild Behaviour shewed how firmly it was fixed in the State of Grace;

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Grace; I shall say little more of this great Martyr, than what was said of the Reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury* Martyred on the same Account, when a worthy Knight was in a contemptible jeering Way demanded, what his Epitaph should be, he answered; that so long as *St. Pauls Church* stood, and his Book preserved, he could neither want Monument nor Epitaph, so I say, so long as his History is in being, and the Heaps of Stones which covered his Enemies Carcasses in *Tippermoor, Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Aldern, Alford* and *Kiljyth* are lasting, he can neither want the one nor the other, and that is so long as there is a Summer to succeed the Spring, and the Celestial Bodies to terminate their usual Course,

A Word now to the noble Cavaleer that accompanied him in the same Fortunes, and with the same Genius, though in a lesser Sphere: He is descended of that ancient and noble Family of the Earls of *Arrol*, Chief of the Name of *Hay*, Lord high Constable of *Scotland* heretably. The Establishment of this Family is most famous in our old Records and Histories, their Honours and Estate were Conferred by King *Kenneth* the Third on this Occasion. The *Danes* at a Battle had put to a disorderly Retreat the *Scots* Army, which, one named *Hay* with his three Sons, being (as the Story goes) at the Plough, perceiving, stop'd them at a narrow Pass, and what with Threats, and what with other perswasive Notions, animated them to rally and turnface, they going on with the foremost, with such Arms as their Plough with it's Accoustrements did furnish them, where

where they shewed such Eminence of Valour in a most furious Charge, that immediately Victory attended them, with the total Overthrow of the Enemy: For which great Action the King gave to them a Falcons Flight of the choicest Land, enobling them, and giving for their Arms in a Field Argent, three bloody Shields, a Faulcon in crest, and two Savages for Supporters, the Motto *Servo Jugum*. This noble Rife being Eight hundred Years ago, may well place them amongst the most honourable Families in Europe, and thus for his Extraction, being the first Cadet of this Family. His Youth he spent in *Germany* under the Command of his Uncle, the renowned Count *Lesly* great Chamberlain to the Emperour; but hearing that his Majesty was in War with his Rebels, he shook off all expectations of Preferment there, and came home with the Tender of his Service to his Majesty, where First with the great Marquis *Montrose* and the valiant Lord *Ogilvie*, he gave many and singular Proofs of his Prowess in his Majesties Service in *England*, till the Affairs of *Scotland* drew him hither, in which Service with his General, how Eminent he was, his Sufferings shew; he never disputed the Command put on, though carrying never so many Difficulties and Dangers, which he always judiciously and hardily put in Execution. His Stature was much of that of the *M. Montrose's*, but more square, of great Bones, his limbs equally proportioned, of a very flaxen and bushy Hair, his Complexion rarely delicate, reid and white well mixed, such as a Lady would have who would vye for Beauty; of Disposition affable, a Stock of Courage and

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Liberality becoming both Soldier and Gentleman; his Constancy at his Death shew'd well he repented nothing he did in order to his Allegiance and Majesties Service, to the great Shame of those who threatned him with their Apocryphal Excommunications, to which he gave no more Place, than our Saviour to the Devil's Temptations, he was murdered the next Day after his General the Lord Marquis. Many other noble Gentlemens Murthers in the same Nature I will not name at this Time; yet I cannot pass that of *John Spotiswood*, Grandchild to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who died in Exile, and Nephew to the great Sir *Robert Spotiswood* butchered in the like Manner: This same young Gentleman on his Knees, ready to lay his Head on the Block, had these self same following Words, *O Lord, who hast been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of this World, I trust at this Time you will waft me over this Sea of Blood to thy Heavenly Canaan.* To which heavenly Ejaculation, a Minister standing by replied, *take tent, take tent Sir that you drown not be the Gate,* an Expression sufficient to have distracted an ordinary Soul, but our Martyr Christianly answered, *He hoped he was no Egyptian*, which he delivered with such Christian Modesty, that the Loun stole away in the Crowd being confounded. His Uncle Sir *Robert* was no otherwise dealt with by another of the Brethren, being on the Scaffold at *St. Andrews* for the same Just Cause: In his Speech to the People while he was recommending to them their Duty and Obedience to the King, especially so good a King, one interrupted him, and forbade the People to believe him, being the Son of a false

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Prophet, meaning that great Light in the Church his Father, the Archbishop of the Place. Hence may the People learn if they ought to trust the Doctrines of their Allegiance to such ones who drench themselves in the Blood of the best Subjects, whose Fame and Acts shall serve as Examples of future Loyalty, Gallantry and Piety; and it is hoped that none will be so mad again as to worship Meteors, when God Almighty hath provided a shining Sun, our Lawful and Dread Sovereign, whom God long preserve, *Amen, Amen.*

Immortali veræ Nobilitatis, inæ-
quandæ Magnanimitatis, incon-
taminati Honoris, & intemeratæ
Fidelitatis, Magni *Grami* memo-
riæ *Sacrum.*

S*I quis hic jacet quæris viator, Magnus hic est ille
Montis-rosarum Marchio, generosi Genii sua
familia generosus hæres; qui virescentibus adhuc
(licet annosis) Majorum suorum palmis, tot victrices
contexuit lauros, ut si omnes illi huic Uni an Unus hic
illis omnibus plus gloria contulerit scire sit nefas. Hic est
Nobilis Ille Montis-rosarum Marchio; qui si prosapia an
virtute illustrior, consilio an dextera promptior, aula an
castris charior, principibus suis an exteris gravior, perdu-
ellionis malleus durior, an monarchiæ assertor acrior fama*

an fortuna clavior, in vita denique insignior, an in morte constantior exstiterit dictu difficile: Hic est Viator, Magnus Ille Dux, ducum sui sæculi facile princeps: Dux, qui cum peditum manipulo (ne dicam excercitulo) pene inermi, victus & amictus inope, causæ aquitati, ducis magnanimitati, & gladiis confiso suis, ingentes hostium acies Armatos duodecim mensium (plus minus) spatio septies Vidit, Vicit, Delevit. Majora hæc Casaris Oculata victoria. Sed proh instabilem lubrici fati rotam! Qui arma, castra, oppida, turres, propugnacula, qui frigus, famem, sitim, inaccessa montium juga, immo omnia superare consueverat tandem maligno fortunæ errere victus, nequissime hostibus traditus, quid non passus! Protomartyris regis sui martyr pedisequus, plus quam barbaro inimicorum furori (nisi tam generoso sanguine implacabili) & effrenæ præstigiatorum Druidum insolentiæ victima oblatus, invictam malis expiravit animam. Sic concidit Nobile illud diadematis fulcrum, sic occidit Resplendens ille Caledoniæ Phosphorus, sic occubuit Magnus ille Martis Alumnus, & cum illo mascula quæque superfatantis Virtutis soboles, per obstetrices indigenas, ipsis Egyptiis crudeliores trucidata. Post undecennium ossa effodi, membra recolligi, & per proceres & regni Comitia a Cænobio regio S. Crucis per Metropolim summo cum splendore ad Ædes D. Ægidio sacras comitata, impensis regiis sub hoc Monumento magnifico cum Avo suo Nobili quondam Scotiæ provege sepeliri mandavit Augustissimus Regum CAROLUS II. imperio suo divinitus restitutus. Vale Viator, & quisquis es, immensam serenissimi Principis erga suos pietatem, & Posthumum hunc Magni Grami pristina suæ gloriæ redi vivi Cole Triumphum.

*The Declaration of Mr, Alexander
Henderfon, Minister of the Word
of GOD at Edinburgh, and Chief
Commissioner from the Kirk of
Scotland, to the Parliament and
Synod of England, made upon
his Death-bed.*

WHereas the greatest Part of the distemper'd
People of these miserable distracted King-
doms, have been and are, wofully abused and
misled with malicious Misinformations against his
Sacred Majesty, especially in Point of Religion
and moral Wisdom; whereof, I confess with
great Grief of Heart, my self to have been (amongst
many more of my Coat) none of the least, who
out of imaginary Fears and Jealousies, were made
real Instruments to advance this unnatural War,
wherein so much innocent Protestant Blood hath
been shed, and so much downright Robbery com-
mitted, without Fear, or Shame of Sin, to the
Scandal of the true reformed Religion, as cannot
but draw down heavy Judgments from Heaven
upon these infatuated Nations, and more particu-

larly

larly upon us who should have instructed them in the Way of Truth, Peace, and Obedience.

I conceived it the Duty of a good Christian, especially one of my Profession, and in the Condition that I lie, expecting GOD Almighty's Call, not only to acknowledge to the Allmerciful GOD, with a humble sincere Remorse of Conscience, the Greatness of this Offence; which being done in Simplicity of Spirit, I hope, with the Apostle Paul, to obtain Mercy, because I did it through Ignorance. But also for the better Satisfaction of all others, to publish this *Declaration* to the View of the World; to the Intent, that all those, (especially of the Ministry) who have been deluded with me, may, by GOD's Grace, and my Example (tho' a weak and mean Instrument) not only be undeceived themselves, but also stirred up to undeceive others with more Alacrity and Facility; that the Scandal may be removed from our Religion and Profession, and the good King restored to his just Rights, and truly honoured and obeyed as GOD's Anointed and Vicegerent upon Earth; and the poor distressed Subjects freed from those intolerable Burdens and Oppressions which they lie groaning under, piercing Heaven with their Tears and Cries; and a solid Peace settled both in Kirk and Common-wealth throughout all his Majesty's Dominions, to the Glory of GOD, and of our blessed Mediator and Saviour the Lord CHRIST.

I do therefore *Declare* before GOD and the World, that since I had the Honour and Happiness to converse and confer with his Majesty, with all Sort of Freedom; especially in Matters of Religion, whether in Relation to the Kirk or State,

(which like *Hippocrates's* Twins are linked together) that I found him the most Intelligent Man that ever I spoke with, as far beyond my Expression, as Expectation, grounded upon the Information that was given me, (before I knew him) by such as I thought should have known him. I profess, that I was oftentimes astonish'd with the Solidity and Quickness of his Reasons and Replies; wondered how he, spending his Time so much in Sports and Recreations, could have attained to so great Knowledge, and must confess ingenuously, that I was convinced in Conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable Satisfaction; yet the Sweetness of his Disposition is such, that whatsoever I said was well taken: I must say, that I never met with any Disputant (let be a King, and in Matters of so high Concernment) of that mild and calm Temper, which convinced me the more, and made me think, that such Wisdom and Moderation could not be without an extraordinary Measure of Divine Grace. I had heard much of his Carriage towards the Priests in *Spain*, and that King *James* told the Duke of *Buckingham*, upon his going thither, *That he durst venture his Son Charles with all the Jesuits in the World*, he knew him to be so well grounded in the Protestant Religion, but could never believe it before.

I observed all his Actions, more particularly those of Devotion, which I must truly say, are more than ordinary: I informed my self of others, who had served him from his Infancy, and they all assured me, that there was nothing new, or much enlarged, in Regard of his Troubles, either in his private or publick Way of Exercise; twice

a Day constantly, Morning and Evening, for an Hour's Space in Private ; twice a Day before Dinner and Supper in Publick, besides Preachings upon *Sundays*, *Tuesdays*, and other extraordinary Times ; and no Business, tho' never so weighty and urgent, can make him forget or neglect this his Tribute and Duty to Almighty GOD. O that those who sit now at the Helm of these Weather-beaten Kingdoms, had but one half of his true Piety and Wisdom ! I dare say that the poor oppressed Subject should not be plunged into so deep Gulfs of Impiety and Misery, without Compassion or Pity : I dare say, if his Advice had been followed, all the Blood that is shed ; and all the Rapine that is committed, should have been prevented.

If I should speak of his Justice, Magnanimity, Charity, Sobriety, Chastity, Patience, Humility, and of all his both Christian and Moral Virtues, I should run my self into a Panegyrick, and seem to flatter him to such as do not know him, if the present Condition that I lie in did not exempt me from any such Suspicion of worldly Ends, when I expect every Hour to be called from all transitory Vanities to eternal Felicity ; and the discharging of my Conscience before GOD and Men, did not oblige me to declare the Truth simply and nakedly, in Satisfaction of that which I have done ignorantly, though not altogether innocently.

If I should relate what I have received from good Hands, and partly can witness of my own Knowledge, since these unhappy Troubles began, I should enlarge my self into a History : Let these brief Characters suffice. No Man can say, that

that there is conspicuously any predominant Vice in him, a rare Thing in a Man, but far rarer in a King: Never Man saw him passionately angry, or extraordinarily moved, either with Prosperity or Adversity, having had as great Trials as ever any King had: Never Man heard him curse, or given to swearing: Never Man heard him complain or bemoan his Condition in the greatest Durance of War and Confinement; when he was separated from his dearest Consort, and deprived of the Comfort of his innocent Children, the hopefullest Princes that ever were in these ingrate Kingdoms, when he was denuded of his Counsellors and domestick Servants: No man can complain of the Violation of his Wife or Daughters, tho' he hath had too many Temptations in the Prime of his Age, by the enforced Absence of his Wife, which would be hardly taken by the meanest of his Subjects: And (which is beyond all Admiration) being stripp'd of all Counsel and Help of Man, and used so harshly as would have stupified any other Man, then did his undaunted Courage, and transcendent Wisdom, shew it self more clearly, and vindicate him from the Obloquy of former Times, to the Astonishment of his greatest Enemies. I confess this did so take me, that I could not but see the Hand of God in it, and which will render his Name glorious, and (I greatly fear) ours ignominious to all Posterity. He stands fast to his Grounds, and doth not rise and fall with Success, the brittle Square of humane Actions, and is ever ready to forgive all bypast Injuries, to settle a present solid Peace, and future Tranquillity, for the Good of his Subjects;

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may, for their Cause he is content to forego so many of his own known, undoubted just Rights, as may stand with their Safety, as, *Salus populi est suprema lex* ; so, *Si parendum est Patri, in eo tamen non parendum quo efficitur ut non sit Pater.* [Seneca.]

I confess that I could have wished an Establishment of our Presbyterian Government in the Kirk of *England*, for the better Union between them and us: But I find the Constitution of that Kingdom, and Disposition of that Nation so generally opposite, that it is not to be expected: They are a People naturally inclined to Freedom, and so bred in Riches and Plenty, that they can hardly be induced to embrace any Discipline that may any wise abridge their Liberty and Pleasures. That which we esteem a godly Kirk-policy, instituted by the Lord CHRIST and his Apostles, is no better to them than a kind of Slavery; and some do not stick to call it worse than the *Spanish* Inquisition: Nay, even the greatest Part of those who invited us to assist them in it, and sent hither their Commissioners to induce us to enter into a solemn national Covenant for that Effect, having served their Turn of us, to throw down the King and the Prelatical Party, and to possess themselves with the Supreme Government both of Kirk and State, are now inventing Evasions to be rid of us; and to elude it, some of them publishing openly in Pulpits and Print, That the sacred Covenant was never intended for the Godly, but only as a Trap to ensnare the Malignants; which cannot but bring heavy Judgments from Heaven, and, I am afraid, make a greater Disunion between these Nations, than

than ever was before: Like unto that *Bellum Gallicum quod sexcentis foederibus compositum, semper renovabatur*, with a Deluge of Christian Blood, and almost Ruin of both Parties: Or like unto that *Bellum Rusticanum in Germania, in quo supra centena millia Rusticorum occubuerunt*. Or most of all, both in Manner and Subject, resembling that of *John of Lyden, Munster and Knoperduling*, which took its Rise from the former; so many different Sects spring up daily more and more amongst them, which all, like *Ephraim and Manasses, Herod and Pilate*, conspire against the Lord's Anointed, and the true Protestant Religion.

The City of London, that was so forward in the beginning of this glorious Reformation, surpasses now *Amsterdam* in Number of Sects, and may be compared to old *Rome, Quæ cum omnibus pene gentibus dominaretur, omnium gentium erroribus serviebat, et magnum sibi videbatur assumpsisse Religionem quia nullam respuebat falsitatem*, [*Leo in Serm. de Petro & Paulo App.*] their Transgressions are like to bring them to that Confusion of the *Israelites*, when they had no King, [*Judg. 21.*] Every one did what seemed good in his own eyes, because they feared not the Lord; [*Josh. 10.*] they said, *What should a King do to us?* The Young-men presumed to be wiser than the Elder, [*Isai. 3.*] The viler sort despised the honourable, [*Lament. ult.*] and the very Serving-men ruled over them.

I profess, when I saw these Things so clearly, I could not blame the King to be so backward in giving his Assent to the Settling of our Presbyterian Discipline in that Kirk, for the great Inconven-

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encies that might follow thereupon, to him and his Posterity, there being so many strong Corporations in that Kingdom, to lead on a peculiar Government, such a number of People that have either no, or broken Estates, who are ready to drive on any Alteration, and so weak and powerless a Nobility to hinder it: *Multos dulcedo pradarum, plures Res angusta vel ambigua domi, alios Scelerum Conscientia stimulat.* C. Tacit.

Let me therefore exhort and conjure you, in the Words of a dying Man, and the Bowels of our Lord CHRIST, to stand fast to your Covenant, and not to suffer your selves to be abused with feign'd Pretences, and made wicked Instruments to wrong the Kirk and the King of their just Rights and Patrimony.

Remember the last propheticall Words of our first blest Reformer, that after the subduing of the Papists, foretold us the great Battle remain'd against manifold Temptations of the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, and especially against the sacrilegious Devourers of the Kirk Rents, which will not be wanting now with Baits, cunningly laid upon golden Hooks, to ensnare the greatest amongst you, both in Kirk and State: But I beseech you in the Words of our Blessed Saviour, to be *wise as Serpents*, and *mild as Doves*; let no worldly Consideration induce you to slide back from the true Meaning of our holy Covenant with the Alseeing-GOD, who punished Saul in his Sons, for the Breach even of an unlawful Covenant with the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. 21.

Remember the Supplication of the General Assembly at *Edinburgh*, given in to the Earl of

Traquair, [*Sess.* 23. *Act* 2.] His Majesty's High Commissioner, 12 *August* 1639, recorded both in the publick Register of our Kirk and Parliament, whereby to obviate malign Aspersions [2 *Caroli Act* 5, *Sess.* 7. *Junii* 1640, that branded us maliciously, with an Intention to shake off civil and dutiful Obedience due to Sovereignty [*verbatim ex registro*] and to diminish the King's Greatness and Authority, and for clearing of our Loyalty; We in our Names, and in the Name of all the rest of the Subjects and Congregations, whom we do represent, did, in all Humility, represent to his Grace, and the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and declared before God and the World, That we never had, nor have any Thought of withdrawing our selves from that humble and dutiful Obedience to his Majesty and his Government, which, by the Descent, and under the Reign of 107 Kings, is most cheerfully acknowledged by us and our Predecessors; and we never had, nor have any Intention or Desire to attempt any Thing that may tend to the Dishonour of God or Diminution of the King's Greatness and Authority; but on the contrary, acknowledging with all humble Thankfulness, the many recent Favours bestowed upon us by His Majesty, and that our Quietness, Stability and Happiness depends upon the Safety of the King's Majesty's Person, and Maintenance of His Greatness and Royal Authority, who is God's Vicegerent, set over us for the Maintenance of Religion and Administration of Justice; we did solemnly swear, not only our mutual Concurrence and Assistance for the Cause of Religion, and to the

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uttermoſt of our Power, with our Means and Lives, and to ſtand to the Defence of our Dread Sovereign, His Perſon and Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kirk and Kingdom; but alſo in every Cauſe, which may concern His Maſteſty's Honour, to concur with our Friends and Followers in quiet Manner or in Arms, as we ſhould be required of His Maſteſty, His Council, or any, having His Authority, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, and the Duty of good Subjects.

And tho' ſome malignant Spirits wreſt maliciously ſome Words of our Covenant, *Art. 3.* contrary to the true Meaning thereof, as if we intended thereby to reſtrain our Allegiance, contrary to the Apoſtle's Precept and Nature of our Duty, and make Religion a Back-door for Rebellion to enter in at; If there be any of the ſimpler zealous Sort, that conceive the Senſe to be ſuch, or if there be any others that would make Uſe of it for politick Ends, we diſclaim them: And I declare before God and the World, that it was far from the Intention of thoſe that contrived it, to wrong the King and his Poſterity, as the plain Words of that Article in the cloſe do clearly bear; and the foreſaid Supplication doth manifeſtly declare, their Intent being only to have ſettled a Conformity in Kirk Government throughout all his Maſteſty's Dominions, and made him and his Poſterity more glorious: But ſince we find many invincible Difficulties and intolerable Inconveniencies ariſe, chiefly from thoſe who invited us to enter therein, for their Aſſiſtance in the Accompliſhment thereof

in that Kirk, and so clearly that they intend to delude us with vain Glosses and Distinctions to the Destruction of the true Protestant Religion, and Monarchical Government, and perceive to our great Grief, that we have been abused with most false Aspersions against His Majesty, the most religious, prudent and best of Kings. I do further declare, before God and the World, that they are guilty of the Breach of the Sacred Covenant, and that we have discharged our Duty thereof (which is only promissory and conditional, as all Oaths *de futuro* are) by endeavouring to effectuate it, *quantum in nobis erat* ; and that we are absolved *in foro Poli & Soli*, of any Oath or Vow contained therein, so far as concerns the settling of Religion in the Kirk of *England* and *Ireland*, and that we are only bound thereby to preserve the Reformation of Religion in our own Kirk and Kingdom, confirmed by his sacred Majesty in Parliament, and to restore our Native King to His just Rights, Royal Throne and Dignity, in as full and ample a Manner as ever any of His Royal Predecessors enjoyed them, and that the Mouth of all Malignants may be stopped, that it may not be said, Presbytry fetters Monarchy, as Independency destroys it, who call up to us the Holy League and Covenant of *France*, as a Pattern on the Mount of ours :

Therefore, I exhort and conjure you again and again, in the Bowels of our *Lord CHRIST*, and Words of a dying Man, especially my Brethren of the Ministry, as you expect a Blessing from GOD upon this distressed, distracted Kirk and Kingdom, upon you and your Posterity ; as you desire to remove GOD's heavy Judgements from this

this miserable Land, the Sword and Pestilence
 and what else may follow, which I tremble to
 think of; to stand fast and firm to this Point of
 your Covenant, which you were bound to before
 by the Law of GOD and of this Land, and
 never suffer your selves, by all the gilded Allure-
 ments of this World, which will but prove bitter
 and deceitful at last, to relinquish it. Stand fast
 to your native King, most gracious to this Land,
 far beyond all his Predecessors. None owes greater
 Obligation to him than the Ministry and
 Gentry: Let not an indelible Character of In-
 gratitude lie upon us that may turn to our Ruine.
 The *Protestants of France*, when they were happy
 in the free Profession of their Religion suffered
 themselves to be abused and misled by some
 great Ones, unto a Rebellion against *Lewis 13.*
 their natural King, which cost many of them
 their Lives and Estates, and the Loss of all their
 Hostage-towns, and might have endangered
 their Liberty of Conscience, if the King had not
 been very gracious to them: The Templers
 Pride and Ambition rendred them formidable to
 all Christian Kings, and made them to be cut
 off in the twinkling of an Eye. The Jesuits are
 running headlong to that same height; and our
 Bishops not contenting themselves with Mode-
 ration, were made Instruments of their own De-
 struction, as some of our Brethren before, by
 their Indiscretion, forced King *James* to set
 them up: Wherefore, I beseech you, my Bre-
 thren of the Ministry, to carry yourselves mildly
 towards all Men, *Tit. 3.* and obediently towards
 the King and his subordinate Officers, *Rom. 13.*

Preach

Preach Salvation to your Flocks, 1. *Pet.* 2: and meddle not with them that are seditious; keep your selves within the Bounds of our Blessed Saviour's Commission, and do not as the Bishops did, intrench upon the civil Magistrate's Authority, that ye may live in Peace and Godliness together, as becometh the Messengers of the Lord *CHRIST*, *Non eripit terrestria qui regna dat cœlestia.*

GOD of his Mercy grant you all, the Spirit of Love and Union, that you may join as one Man to redeem the Honour of this ancient Nation, which lies a bleeding in Foreign Parts, where it was once so famous for its Valour and Fidelity, even to Foreign Kings; to redeem it, I say, even with your Lives and Fortunes according to your solemn Covenant, and the Duty of your Allegiance to your native King. Consider, I beseech you, your own Interests, besides Honour and Conscience, and never rest, till you have restored him fully to his Royal Throne and Dignity. Let us, his native Subjects, be his best Shield and Buckler, under **GOD**, to defend him from all his Enemies, and to transmit his Sceptre to his posterity, so long as the Sun and Moon endureth; and let our Forces be employed for the Restitution of the most Religious and Virtuous Queen of *Bohemia*, and her distressed Children, to their just Inheritance, and for the pulling down of the Antichrist, and enlarging of our Lord *CHRIST*'s Kingdom, throughout all the World.

C. Tacitus.

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C. Tacitus.

In tanta Reipublicæ necessitudine, suspecto Senatus populiq; Imperio ob certamina potentium & avaritiam Magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio; quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur, omnem potestatem ad unum redire pacis interfuit, non aliud discordantis Patriæ remedium quam ut ab uno regeretur.

DECLARATION of his Excellency *James* Marquis of *Montrose*, Earl of *Kincairn*, Lord *Graham*, Baron of *Montdieu*, Lieutenant Governor, and Captain General for His Majesty of the Kingdom of *SCOTLAND*,
Anno M DC XLIX.

THough it may seem a publick (both) and private Injury, rather than Matter of Duty or just Procedure, to do any Act whatsoever, that can in so much as appear to dispute the Clearness of this present Service, or to hold such Enemies as a Party, the Justice of His Majesty's Cause, the Wickedness of those Rebels, and my own Integrity, being (all of them) so well, and so thoroughly known as they are;

Yet the further to confirm the World, the more to encourage all who are to engage, and the powerful-

erfullier to convince many who have harmlesly been involved, and innocently enveigled in those desperate Courses, I do, in the Name of His most Sacred Majesty, and by Virtue of the Power and Authority granted by him unto me, Declare,

That howbeit there hath been (and still are) an horrid and infamous Faction of Rebels within the Kingdom of *Scotland* (who most causelessly at first did hatch a Rebellion against His late Majesty of Glorious Memory ; and when He had granted unto them (by their own Acknowledgement) all their violent and most unjust Desires, they were so far from resting, notwithstanding, satisfied, as (being themselves able to find no further Pretences) they did perniciously solicit one Party in the Kingdom of *England* to begin, where Shame and Necessity had enforced them to leave off ; and when those of the *English* (being, by much, less wicked) would have often satisfied themselves by His Majesty's extraordinary Concessions (they then not intending the desperate Lengths which fatal Success, and their hollow Practisers did thereafter drive them to) then did they still thrust in (as Oil to the Fire, and Ganger to the Wound) until they had rendred all irrecoverable ; neither were they contented in the Fox Skin alone to act this their so brutish a Tragedy (which indeed could never have served their Ends) but while they had received all imaginable Satisfaction at Home, (as their very own Acts of Parliament doth witness, wherein they say, *That His late Majesty parted a contented King from a contented People*) finding their Rebel Brood, whom they had begot in *England*, beginning to lessen, and that His Majesty's

sty's Party appeared to have, by much, the better, they not only, contrary to the Duty of Subjects, but all Faith, Covenants, Oaths, Attestations, to which they had so often invoked God, his Angels, the World, and all as Witnesses, did enter with a strong Army the Kingdom of *England*, persecute their Prince in a Foreign Nation, assist a Company of Stranger Rebels, against their Native King, and those of his loyal Party within that same Kingdom, except for which the whole World does know His Majesty had, without all peradventure, prevailed. And not ashamed of all this, (which even many of their own Party did blush to avow) when His late Majesty was, by (God knows) how many unhappy Treacheries, redacted to think upon extreme Courses for His Safety, he was pleased, out of his so much invincible Goodness, and natural Inclination towards his native People (notwithstanding all their former Villainies) to choose that ignoble Party to fall upon, thinking, that those whom His Greatness, and their Duty, could, not oblige, His Misery, and their Compassion, might perhaps, move with Pity; yet too justly fearing their Punick Faiths, he first resolved to engage them by a Treaty; after which, when by many Intercourses His Majesty had received all manner of Assurances, (which, tho' Shame would make them willingly excuse, yet Guilt will let them have nothing to say for it, it being so undeniable, and to all the World so known a Truth) casting himself in their Hands, they (contrary to all Faith and Paction, Trust of Friends, Duty of Subjects, Laws of Hospitality, Nature, Nations, Divine

and Humane, to which there hath never been precedent, nor can ever be a Follower) most infamously, and beyond all imaginable Expression of invincible Baseness, (to the Blush of Christians, and Abomination of Mankind) sold their Sovereign over to their merciless Fellow Traitors to be destroyed ; with whom, how they have conspired his Destruction, their secret Intercourses, both before, in the Time, and since this horrid Murder, do too too evidently declare. Of all which Villainies they are so little touched with the Guilt, as they now begin with His Majesty upon the same Scores they left with his Father, declaring him King with Proviso's, so robbing him of all Right, while they would seem to give some unto him, pressing him to join with those who have rigged all his Dominions in Rebellion, and laid all Royal Power into the Dust, that in Effect, he would condemn the Memory of his sacred Father, destroy himself, and ruin his faithful Party within all those Dominions. These are those who at first entered *England*, soliciting all to rise in this desperate Rebellion (as the Prologue of their ensuing Tragedy) who were the Chief and main Instruments of all the Battles, Slaughters, and bloody Occasions within that Kingdom, who sold their Sovereign unto the Death, and that yet dig in his Grave, and who are more perniciously hatching the Destruction of His present Majesty, by the same bare, old, out-dated Treacheries, than ever they did his Sacred Father's ; yet the People (in general) having been but ignorantly misled to it (whose Eyes now for most Part GOD has opened, and turned their Hearts (at least

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in their Desires) to their dutiful Obedience, and that there has still been a loyal Party, who have given such Proofs of their Integrity, as His Majesty is moved with a tender Compassion, for those Righteous Sakes, in Behalf of all, who now at last have Remorse for their former Misdemeanours.) His Majesty is not only willing to pardon every one (excepting such, who, upon clear Evidences shall be found guilty of that most damnable Fact of Murder of His Father) who, upon Sight or Knowledge hereof, do immediately, or upon the first possible Conveniency, abandon those Rebels, and rise and join themselves with us and our Forces in this present Service) but also to assure all who are, or will turn loyal unto him of that Nation ; that it is His Majesty's Resolution (which He doth assure and promise unto them (upon the Word of a Prince) to be ever ready to ratify (so soon as it shall please GOD to put it in His Power, according to the Advice of the Supreme Judicatures of that Kingdom) all what has been done by His Royal Father, in Order to their Peace; desiring nothing more, but their dutiful Obedience, and faithful Services, for the Revenge of the horrid Murder of His Father, His just Re-establishment, and their own perpetual Happiness under his Government.

Wherefore, all who have any Duty left them to GOD, their King, Country, Friends, Homes, Wives, Children, or would change (now at last) the Tyranny, Violence, and Opression of those Rebels, with the mild and innocent Government of their just Prince, or revenge the horrid and execrable Murder of their Sacred King, redeem
their

their Nation from Infamy, themselves from Slavery, restore the present, and oblige the Ages to come; let them as Christians, Subjects, Patriots, Friends, Husbands and Fathers, join themselves forthwith with us in this present Service, that is so full of Conscience, Duty, Honour, and all just Interests, and not apprehend any Evils (which they may fear can fall) half so much, as those they presently ly under; for tho' there may appear many Difficulties, yet let them not doubt of God's Justice, nor the happy Providence that may attend His Majesty, nor their own Resolutions, nor the Fortunes of those who they are joined withall, resolving with *Joab* to play the Men for their People, and the Cities of their GOD, and let the LORD do whatever seemeth him good; wherein, whatsoever shall behappen, they may (at least be assured of *Craſtinus's* Recompence, that dead or alive, the World will give them Thanks.

MONTROSE.

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EDINBURGH 2. January 1650. Antemeridiem.

*The Declaration and Warning of the
Commission of the General Assem-
bly unto all the Members of this
Kirk and Kingdom, in Answer
to a Paper intituled and reputed
The Declaration of JAMES
GRAHAM.*

Albeit the Carriage of those who are engaged in the Work of Reformation in this Land, hath been from the beginning so agreeable to the Rule of the Word of God and of sound Reason, and so eminently owned and blessed by the Lord in all the Tenor and Procedure thereof, as may sufficiently refute all the Calumnies of Enemies, and strengthen his people against all their Slanders and Attempts for undoing of the same : Yet, lest our Silence in this Day of Blasphemy and Rebuke should be construed, either as a Neglect of our Duty, or as Weakness through the Sense of the Guilt, to wipe off the Aspersions that are vented to the World, in the Name of that Excommunicate and forfeited Traitor *James Graham*, we have resolved, till there may be Opportunity for a larger
Decla-

Declaration, shortly to touch the Revilings contained in that Paper, and to declare unto Men their Duty in Reference to such Purposes and Desires as are holden forth therein.

In the first place the instruments of the worke of Reformation are charged *as an horrid and infamous faction of rebels, who did hatch a rebellion against his late Majesty*: But to say nothing that that wretched Man was accessory unto the laying of the Foundation of that blessed Work, which now in the Blindness of his Mind and Hardness of his Heart, as being given up of God, as *Pharaoh* was, he calls Rebellion. This is no other than the common Calumny that hath been cast upon the Servants of God from the beginning of the World in all their Endeavours and Attempts for Reformation of Religion. Was it Rebellion to stand to our Defence? when in Stead of an Answer to all the earnest and reiterated Supplications and Desires of this Land against the Corruptions of Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, we were invaded with an Army both by Sea and Land, that a yoke might be wreathed about our Necks by Oppression and Violence. Not only had we the Lord's Word, and the Practice of the reformed Churches Abroad, and of our own Churches at Home in the Days of our Fathers to justify us in this, but also the King himself, who upon Information did retract the Declaration set forth against us, and granted what we had desired.

Next it is charged upon this Nation, *That they did sollicite a Party in the Kingdom of England to begin where they had left off, and that finding their Rebel Brood there beginning to lessen, they did, contrary to all Faith,*

Covenants, Oaths, &c. enter with a strong Army, the Kingdom of England persecute their Prince in a foreign Nation, and assist a Company of Strangers, Rebels against their native King, &c. What was the Grounds and first Rise of the War betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England*, needs not now to be repeated, being so well known every where; but this Nation were so far from fomenting of the same, that for a long Time they did mediate a Peace; and so continued, until *England* by their earnest Invitation, did for the Preservation and Reformation of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, the Peace and Good of these Kingdoms, crave their Assistance against the Popish, Prelatical and Malignant Party then in Arms, who were like to have destroyed all: For which End, when they had entred in a Solemn League and Covenant with that Nation, as they did oblige themselves for the Defence and Preservation of His Majesty's Person and just Greatness and Authority in the Defence and Preservation of Religion; so they did never desist to solicit His Majesty for Satisfaction to the just Desires of both Kingdoms, and were always upon His Majesty's granting of the same, willing to admit him to the Exercise of His Royal Power.

Thirdly, That it is alledged, That after all manner of Assurances given to His Majesty before His coming to the Scottish Army, notwithstanding of Assurances, He was sold unto the English. But we are confident, that albeit all the Generation of Malignants of the three Kingdoms, have now, for three Years together, filled this and the Nations Abroad, with the Noise of such Things, that yet

to this Day, never any of them did, nor could bring any Evidence of such Assurance given, or such Bargain made by this Kingdom: Nay, such Assurances were always refused; and when the King did cast himself upon the *Scottish* Army, this Kingdom was so far from making any Sale of him, that they did not condescend to leave him with his Subjects in *England*, until sufficient Surety was given by both Houses of Parliament, concerning the Safety and Preservation of His Majesty's Person. It is great Malice to say, That because the *Scottish* Army, about the Time of His Majesty's living at *Newcastle*, did receive some Part of those Arrears due unto them for their painful and faithful Service in *England*, that therefore this Kingdom did sell their King. The Arrears which were then received, were due before the King came unto our Army; and in all Probability had been more timeously and cheerfully paid, if he had not come thither at all.

Fourthly, They are slandered as *Complotters* of the King's Destruction, by secret Intercourses both before, in the Time, and since His Majesty's horrid Murder. If those Things be evident, why were not the Proofs brought forth, and produced before the World, for convincing the Authors and Abettors thereof, and gaining Credit to the Cause of those that make so bold Allegiances? The publick Endeavours and Testimonies of this Kirk and Kingdom, against the taking of His Majesty's Life, do sufficiently refute all such secret and private Whisperings.

Lastly, They are charged as *Robbers* of the King who now is, of all Right, because of their declaring him

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King with Proviso's. But are these Proviso's or Conditions, any other than such as have been in the Time of His Predecessors, and whereunto, by the Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom, He is obliged, and without which, Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be secured.

These and the like Slanders are made a Ground of Invitation unto the People of this Land, to abandon the Cause and Work of Reformation, and to rise in Arms against the Parliament and Kingdom, and join themselves with such Forces as that Monster of Men, and his Complices shall make use of for invading of this Land, to which he labours to perswade a Promise of Pardon for what is past, and of His Majesty's Resolution, *to be ever ready to ratify, so soon as it shall please GOD to put it in his Power, according to the Advice of the Supreme Judicatories of this Kingdom, all that has been done by his Royal Father, in Order to our Peace.* Though we should be silent and say nothing, we are perswaded, that there be none in the Land who has any Regard to Truth or Righteousness, or in whom any Spark of the Love of the LORD's Work, or of this Country, does reside; but as they abominate and abhor the very Name of that excommunicate Wretch, and think these Lies worthy of no other Entertainment, than is to be allowed to the Devices of the Father of Lies, unto whose Hands he is delivered: So we are confident that they will detest and avoid all such desperate and wicked Designs attempted, whether by him or by any other. Shall Men, after so many solemn Vows and Promises before the LORD, and his Hand lifted up so high in making plain

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before

before them the Way wherein they should walk, be so blind and base, as to be charmed into a most godless Course against Religion, and the Blood of the LORD's People, by the Offer of a Pardon, where there has been no Transgression, but a following of Duty ? Or, shall any be cheated into Delusion by a Flourish of most ambiguous Words of His Majesty's Resolution, to be ever ready to ratify, so soon as it shall please God to put him in his Power, according to the Advice of the Supreme Judicatories of this Kingdom, all what has been done by his Royal Father, in Order to our Peace ? To say nothing that the League and Covenant, and the Union betwixt the Kingdoms, and the whole Work of Uniformity is here cut off at one clap, though yet we trust, that these Things will be dearer to all the LORD's People in the Land, than their Estates or Lives. The Words are so empty and doubtful, as may suffer any Interpretation Men list to put upon them, and may consist with the utter undoing of all that has been done in this Land, for asserting the Purity of Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject. His Majesty must be first put in Power, before He engage himself to any Thing at all : And when in Power, no Obligation upon him, unless the Supreme Judicatories of the Kingdom shall so advise ; neither is it determined what these Judicatories are ; whether His Majesty shall follow the Advice, and which is more strange, Religion is not so much as named in all the Concession, but all is wrapped under the Notion of these Things which the King His Royal Father granted, in Order to our Peace ; which may be so expounded

as to take in Things Civil only, that concern the Peace of the Kingdom; or at the best, insinuates the Motive of all that His Majesty granted concerning Religion to this Kingdom, to have been only a Desire of Peace, and not any Thing in Religion it self, and so draws along with it a secret Reflection upon the national Covenant, and all the Work of God relating thereto, and concludes them alterable, as the Change may produce Peace or War. We think we need not desire any Man to consider what could be the Case of Religion, and of all that love it in this Land, if it were in the Power of that perfidious and proud Atheist to model the supreme Judicatories of the Kingdom, according to his Mind: He who hath so far forgotten his Covenant and Oath, in which he entred in so publick and solemn Way, as to call all that is contained therein, and has flowed therefrom, violent and most unjust Desires, and the Work of Reformation from the Beginning, Rebellion, will not spare the overturning and destroying thereof, and the bringing back this poor Nation to the licking up of the Vomit of Prelacy, the Ceremonies and the Service Book, for making Way to a fuller Compliance with the Church of *Rome*, which we have the more Cause to fear, for that the free Exercise and full Liberty of Popish Religion is granted by His Majesty to those bloody Rebels in *Ireland*. To us it is above Question, That as the Alteration of Religion, and the establishing of an arbitrary and illimited Power for bringing the same about, was the Design from the Beginning, so that the same is still promoted by the Popish, Prelatical and Malignant Party,

and

and shall (if they prevail) be the Fruit of their Works.

Therefore, as the Servants of the living GOD, we warn and obtest all the LORD's People throughout the Land, that as they would not draw on themselves the Wrath of the most high GOD, by Breach of Covenant, and gross Backsliding, that they do not hearken to any such Calumnies and Slanders, nor suffer themselves, by the Power thereof, to be drawn from their Steadfastness, or to give any Connivance, let be Countenance or Assistance unto any who shall invade this Kingdom, or raise War therein, under Pretence of Commission from His Majesty, and putting him in the Exercise of his Royal Power, before Satisfaction had from him, to the just and necessary Desires of this Kirk and Kingdom, concerning Religion and the Covenant. The late General Assembly in their Declaration, did by many and grave and undeniable Reasons, demonstrate the Unlawfulness and Sinfulness of any such Attempt: And it shall be now seasonable for any Man who doubts, to make use of those Things for satisfying his Judgment, and convincing him in the Point of Conscience, that he may not dash himself against the Rock of the LORD's Power, which shall certainly break in Pieces all those that oppose themselves to his Work, and lead forth with the Workers of Iniquity, all those that turn aside to their crooked Ways.

Albeit the avenging Hand of the most High hath pursued and followed with Vengeance, many of those who assisted that unnatural Man, in the shedding of the Blood of his Country, and that

many

many of them have tasted of the bitter Fruits both
 of Civil and Ecclesiastical Censures, and that a
 Temptation to so great a Wickedness from such a
 one as *James Graham*, seems to be so gross as may
 scar most of the malignant Party themselves, who
 yet continue in Opposition to the Work of GOD,
 yet be those who have humbled themselves for their
 former Compliances with evil Courses, or have
 kept their Integrity without swerving, it shall be
 the Wisdom of all within the Land, to guard their
 Hearts by Prayer and Supplication, and to arm
 themselves with the Strength of the LORD against
 Defection. Experience hath proven throughout
 all the Tract of the Work of GOD, that many
 have fallen off from Day to Day, and that new
 Trials have produced new discoveries of the
 Hollowness of the Heart of some, concerning
 whom, many did promise to themselves better
 Things, none can be stedfast in the Covenant, but
 these whose Hearts are right with GOD. We
 wish therefore every Man to search and try his
 Ways; and to repent of all his former Provocations;
 to in the Strength of the Mediator JESUS CHRIST,
 to study to walk with GOD, and to order his
 Conversation aright: Then may we be confident
 that the LORD shall establish us, and that no Weapon
 framed against us shall prosper; and that every
 Tongue that riseth against us in Judgment, we
 shall condemn.

These

These Lines were engraven with the Point of a Diamond on the Glass-Window of the Prison by the Marquis of Montrose, after he was sentenced to die.

L Et them bestow on every Airth a Limb,
Then open all my Veins that I may swim,
To Thee, my Maker, in that Crimson Lake,
Then place my par-boil'd Head upon a Stake;
Scatter my Ashes, straw them in the Air.
Lord, since Thou know'st where all these Atoms are,
I'm hopeful Thou'lt recover once my Dust,
And confident Thou'lt raise me with the Just.

Montrose's Lines written with the Point of his Sword upon the Death of King Charles I.

G Reat, Good! and Just, could I but rate
My Griefs, and thy too rigid Fate,
I'd weep the World to such a Strain,
As it should once deluge again :
But since thy loud-tongu'd Blood demands Supplies,
More from *Briareus* Hands than *Argus* Eyes,
I'll Sing thy Obsequies with Trumpet Sounds,
And write thy Epitaph with Blood and Wounds.

In Latin thus,

CAROLE, si possem lachrymis aquare dolorem
Ipse meum fatumque tuum, tua funera flerem,
Ut tellus nitidis rursus stagnaret ab undis :
Sanguis at ille tuus quum vocem ad sidera tollat,
Atque manus Briarei mage quam Argi lumina poscat;
Exsequias celebrabo tuas, clangore tubarum,
Et tumulo inscribam profuso sanguine Carmen.

F I N I S.

LETTERS TO
MONTROSE,

From King

CHARLES I.

And His

QUEEN,

King CHARLES the 2d, and
 Prince *Rupert*.

Now first Published from the Originals.

LETTER I.

Montrose,

A S I think it fit in Respect of your
 Sufferings for me, by these Lines to
 acknowledge it to you, so I think
 it unfit, to mention by Writ any
 Particulars, but to refer you to the faithful Re-
 lation of this honest Bearer, *Mungo Murray*, be-
 ing confident that the same Generosity which has
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made you hazard so much as you have done for my Service, will at this Time induce you to testify your Affection to me, as there shall be Occasion, assuring you, that for what you have already done, I shall ever remain,

Your most assured Friend,

Windsor, 27th January,
1642.

Charles R.

L E T T E R II.

Montrose,

I know I need no Arguments to induce you to my Service. Duty and Loyalty are sufficient to a Man of so much Honour as I know you to be: Yet as I think this of you, so I will have you to believe of me, that I would not invite you to share of my hard Fortune, if I intended you not a plentiful Partaker of my Good. The Bearer will acquaint you with my Designs, whom I have commanded to follow your Directions in the Pursuit of them. I will say no more, but that I am,

Your assured Friend,

York 7 May,
1642,

Charles R.

L E T T E R III.

Mon Cousin,

J'AY receu votre Lettre, et par icelle vois que vous croyez que les affaires en Ecosse sont en fort mauvais estat pour le service du Roy, et cela par ma negligence pour n'avoir

pas

pas ecouté aux propositions qui m'ont été fait a mon arrivé ; en cela j'ay suivi les commandemens du Roy, mais je crois encore que si les bons serviteurs du Roy, veuille s'accorder ensemble, et ne perdre point de temps qu' ils peuvent prevenir tout le malheur qui pourroit arriver de ce costé la, et pour moy je contribueray de mon costé tout ce que je puis, et lors que les Armes qui viennent de Danemark seront arrivees que j'attens tous les jours, si vous en avez besoin vous en aurez, comme aussi aucune autre assistance que je pourray, ayant toujours eu une tres grande confiance en vous et en votre generosité, que je vous assure n'est point diminué, quoyque comme vous miserables j'ay ouy que vous avies faites amitie avec quelques Personnes qui me pourroit fait apprehender, mais la confiance que j'ay en vous et l'estime ne pendra pas sur de si petites fondemens que le commun bruit, ny sur une chose que si votis avez faite je suis assuré que ce n'est que pour le service du Roy: croyes aussi que de mon costé je ne manqueray pas a ce que je vous promis et que je suis et seray toujours.

Votre bien bonne Amie,
Henriette Marie R.

York ce 31 May.

Cousin

I have received your Letter, and see by it, that you are of Opinion the King's Affairs in *Scotland* are in a very bad Condition, and that this is occasioned by my refusing to hearken to

the Advice you gave me at my Arrival; in this I observ'd the King's Orders, and am still perswaded that all the Mischief that can happen from that Quarter, may be prevented by the King's good Servants, if they will agree among themselves, and lose no Time. For my own Part, I shall contribute all I can, and when the Arms from *Denmark* come to Hand, which I am expecting every Day, if you need any of them, you shall have them, as also any other Assistance that is in my Power, having always had a great Confidence in you and in your Generosity, which I assure you is not in the least lessened, tho' I am under the same Misfortune with you, and have heard that you make up Friendships with such as might make me apprehensive: But my Confidence and Esteem of you are not built on so slender Foundations as common Talk is, nor can it be shaken by such a Step as this, which if you have made, I am perswaded it was with no other View, but to serve the King. You may be assured, that for my Part, I will never fail of my Promise to you, that I am and always shall be, your very good Friend.

Henrieta Maria R.

Tho' this Letter has only the Date of the Month and not of the Year, it is certain that it was written in the 1643, for the Queen landed at Birdlington in Yorkshire, in the Beginning of May that Year, and afterwards went to York, where Montrose advised her to Crush the Covenanters in the Bud, but she was not so lucky as to follow his Advice. See Page 7. and following Pages of the History.

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The Three following Letters contain the King's Orders for disbanding the Forces under Montrose's Command in Scotland, and shew with what Reluctancy he complied. See Pag. 126. and following Pages of the History.

L E T T E R IV.

Montrose,

I Am in such a Condition as is much fitter for Relation than Writing; wherefore, I refer you to this trusty Bearer *Robin Ker*, for the Reasons and Manner of my coming to this Army, as also what my Treatment hath been since I came, and my Resolutions upon my whole Business: This shall therefore only give you positive Commands, and tell you real Truths; leaving the *Why* of all to this Bearer: You must disband your Forces and go into *France*, where you shall receive my further Directions. This at first may justly startle you; but I assure you, that if for the present, I should offer to do more for you, I could not do so much, and that you shall always find me,

Your most assured, constant,
real, faithful Friend.

Newcastle May 19.
1646.

Charles R.

[LETTER

L E T T E R V.

Montrose,

I Assure you, that I no less esteem your willingness to lay down Arms at my Command, for a gallant and real Expression of your Zeal and Affection to my Service, than any of your former Actions : But I hope that you cannot have so mean an Opinion of me, that for any particular or worldly Respects, I could suffer you to be ruined; No, I avow that it is one of the greatest and truest Marks of my present Miseries, that I cannot recompense you according to your Deserts; but, on the contrary, must yet suffer a Cloud of the Misfortune of the Times, to hing over you: Wherefore I must interpret those Expressions in your Letter concerning your self, to have only Relation to your own Generosity; for you cannot but know, that they are contrair to my unalterable Resolutions, which I assure you, I neither conceal nor minse, for there is no Man (who ever heard me speak of you) that is ignorant, that the Reason which makes me at this Time send you out of the Country, is that you may return Home with the greater Glory, and in the mean Time, to have as honourable an Employment, as I can put upon you: This trusty Bearer, *Robin Ker*, will tell you the Care I have had of all your Friends and mine, to whom albeit I cannot promise such Conditions as I would, yet they will be such, as (all Things considered) are most fit for them to accept: Wherefore, I renew my former Directions, of laying down

Arms

Arms unto you; desiring you to let *Huntly, Crawford, Airly, Seaforth* and *Ogilvy* know, that Want of Time, hath made me now omit, to reiterate my former Commands to them, intending that this shall serve for all, assuring them and all the rest of my Friends, that whensoever GOD shall enable me, they shall reap the Fruits of their Loyalty and Affection to my Service So I rest,

Your most assured, constant,
real, faithful Friend.

Newcastle, 15th
June 1646.

Charles R.

L E T T E R. VI.

Montrose,

THE most sensible Part of my many Misfortunes is, to see my Friends in Distress, and not to be able to help them; and of this Kind, you are the chief; wherefore, according to that real Freedom and Friendship which is between us, as I cannot absolutely command you, to accept of unhandsome Conditions, so I must tell you, that I believe your Refusal will put you in a far worse Estate, than your Compliance will. This is the Reason, that I have told this Bearer *Robin Ker*, and the Commissioners here, that I have commanded you to accept of *Middleton's* Conditions, which really I judge to be your best Course, according to this present Time; for if this Opportunity be let slip, you must not expect any more Treaties: In which Case, you must either

ther conquer all *Scotland*, or be inevitably ruined. That you may make the clearer Judgment what to do, I have sent you here inclosed, the Chancellor's Answers to your Demands; whereupon if you find it fit to accept, you may justly say I have commanded you, and if you take another Course, you cannot expect that I can publicly avow you in it, until I shall be able (which GOD knows how soon that will be) to stand upon my own Feet; but on the contrary, seem to be not well satisfied, with your Refusal; which I find clearly will bring all this Army upon you; & then I shall be in a very sad Condition, such as I shall rather leave to your Judgment, than seek to express: However, you shall always find me to be,

Your most assured, real,
constant, faithful Friend.

Newcastle, 16 July
1646.

P. S. Whatsoever you may otherwise hear, this is truly my Sense, which I have ventured freely unto you, without a Cypher, because I conceive this to be *coup de partie*. Charles R.

L E T T E R VII.

Montrose,

HAVING no Cypher with you, I think not fit to write but what I care not though all the World read it. First then, I congratulate your coming

coming to the Low Countries, hoping, before this, that ye are safely arrived at *Paris*; next, I refer you to this trusty Bearer for the Knowledge of my present Condition, which is such, as all the Directions I am able to give you, is to desire you to dispose of your self as my Wife shall advise you, knowing that she truly esteems your Worth; for she is mine, and I am,

Your most assured, real,
faithful, constant Friend.

Newcastle January 21,
1646-47.

Charles R.

The following Letter plainly refers to what is related in the 138 and following Pages of the History; when Ashburnham was sent to Montrose on his way to Paris, to dissuade him from going forward: For the Lord Jermyn and the Presbyterians were afraid that the Queen being advised by Montrose would break their Measures.

L E T T E R VIII.

Mon Cousin,

A Ussi tot que j'ay appris votre arrivee en Hollande, je vous ay voulu faire cette Lettre pour vous donner toujours des assurances de la continuation de l'estime que j'ay des services que vous avez rendu au Roy mon seigneur je ne fais point de doute de la continuation lors que vous le pourrez, vos actions m'en ont donné trop evidentes preuves pour en douter comme aussi j'espere

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re que vous croyez qu'il n'y a rien qui puisse être en mon pouvoir pour vous en faire paroître mes resentimens que je ne fasse, j'ay chargé *Ashburnham* de vous parler plus particulièrement de quelque chose pour le service du Roy me remettans a luy a qui vous pouvez prendre entière confiance. je finiray avec cette Assurance encore, que je suis tres entierement,

Mon Cousin,

Votre affectionnee Cousine
et constante amie

*Paris ce 15 Mars
1647.*

Henrieta Maria R.

Cousin,

SO soon as I heard of your Arrival in *Holland*, I resolved to write this Letter, assuring you that I still very much value the Service you have done the King my Husband. I am perswaded you will continue your faithful Service to the utmost of your Power. Your Actions have afforded such plain Proofs of your Fidelity and Zeal, that I cannot doubt of them, and I hope you will believe, that I will do all that is in my Power, to shew you my grateful Sense of your good Service. I have ordered *Ashburnham* to speak more particularly with you, of something that concerns the King's Service. Referring you to him, to whom you may give entire Trust, I conclude with this further Assurance, that I am most entirely,

Cousin, Your affectionate Cousin,
and constant Friend,

*Paris, 15 March
1647.*

Henrieta Maria R.

LETTER

L E T T E R IX.

My Lord,

I Am sorry that this Imployment will not give me Leave to stirr from it, else I should have been extreme willing to have met with your Lordship somewhere, and conferred with you about his Majesty's Affairs, The Bearer hereof can more fully tell your Lordship how ready I shall be to join with you in any Thing that may advance that Service, in which you showed so much Reality and Forwardness; I shall therefore only trouble you with an Assurance of my Service to you, which shall not be wanting in,

Your Lordship's most faithful

From a board the Friend to serve you,
Admiral, 11 th October, P. Rupert.
1648.

Directed thus *To My Lord Marquis of Montrose.*

This following Letter seems to point at the Differences that were always between Montrose and the Hamiltonian or Presbyterian Party

L E T T E R X.

Mon Cousin,

Ayant receu votre Lettre par Pooley, et par icelle veu les Assurances de la continuation de votre affection pour le service du Roy, Monsieur mon fils, comme vous avez toujours eu

pour celuy du feu Roy, mon Seigneur, dont le Meurtre commis en sa personne doit augmenter a tous ses serviteurs la passion de chercher tous les moyens de se revancher d'une mort si abominable, et comme je ne doute point que vous ne foyes bien aise d'en avoir les occasions, et que pour ce effet vous ne fassiez tout ce qui dependra de vous, je vous conjure donc de vouloir vous joindre avec tous ceux de votre nation qui voudroient ressentir comme ils doivent cette mort, et oublier tout ce qui s'est passé entre vous : c'est tout ce que j'ay a vous recommander et de me croire avec autant d'Assurance comme je suis en effect et seray toujours,

Mon Cousin,

Votre bien bonne et affectionnee
Cousine & Amie.

*Paris ce, 10 Mars
1649.*

Henrieta Maria R.

Cousin,

I Have receiv'd your Letter by *Pooley*, and in it Assurances, that you continue the same good Affection to serve the King my Son, which you have always had for the late King my Husband. The Murder committed in his Person, must necessarily increase the Passion of all his Servants, to be avenged on his Enemies, who were guilty of the abominable Crime of his Death. And as I doubt not but you will be well pleased that an Opportunity offer for this, and that you will do all

all in your Power for effectuating it. I conjure you to join with all your Country-men, that would shew a due Resentment of this Murder, and forget all the Differences that have been formerly among you. This is all I have to recommend to you at present, and to believe me to be as much as I really am, and always shall be.

Cousin,

Your very good and affectionate Cousin and Friend

Paris 10th March

1649

Henrieta Maria R.

L E T T E R XI.

My Lord,

I have received three Letters from your Lordship in one Day, among which there was one sent me by Major General *Monro* whose Business, though I know not, yet when ever he shall please to let me know, the Assistance I may give it shall be set forward as much as it may. My Lord, I find upon all Occasions, that your Kindness to me is the same you profess, and I am very sorry that as yet there is no Occasion for me to give a real Testimony of mine, which I intend upon all Occasions to do. Of this your Lordship may be confident, since this is from,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most faithful
Friend and Servant,

Kingragly, 1st April

1649.

P. Rupert.
LETTER

This Letter, which has a Seal appended to it, in Form of a Commission, is directed thus, To our Right trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin, James Marquis of Montrose.

L E T T E R XII.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin, We greet you well. We send you herewith a Relation which we have lately received from our Trusty and well Beloved Sir *John Cockeran* Knight, of his Proceedings with the Town of *Hamborough*, and being justly sensible how unnecessary it is for us at this Time, to make new Enemies, or to be oversevere in our Resentments of such Things, as in a Time of more Prosperity we ought to insist upon ; we therefore desire, and we hereby require and authorize you, to employ your self by such Ways and Expedients as you shall think fit, to compose the Differences, and to settle a better Understanding between us and the said Town of *Hamborough* ; only in that Particular of their Resolution, to receive a publick Minister from the bloody Rebels in *England* ; We cannot but believe it to be inconsistent with all Amity and Alliance with us, which our Pleasure is, shall be so represented to them, but, without any Menaces or Threats on our Part, to the End, that if they shall avowedly receive any such publick Minister, we may be at Liberty to take such Resolution as shall be fit for

our

our own Honour and Interests : In the mean Time we desire you to presse the Senate, to give us some present Testimony of their good Affection, by supplying us with the Loan of a considerable Sum of Money, upon such Assurance of Repayment as we can for the present give them. And if any Money can be gotten from them, Our Pleasure is, that one Half thereof shall be for your Employment, and that the other Half be remitted for our Use to our trusty and Well beloved *John Webster* of *Amsterdam* Merchant : some Proportion being first deducted out of the whole, for the Supply of our Trusty and welbeloved Servant *Sir John Cockeran* Knight : And so recommending this Business to your Care and good Endeavour, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at *St. Germans*,
the 5th of *September*,
1649.

L E T T E R XIII

My Lord,

I Intreat you to go on Vigorously and with your wonted Courage and Care in the Prosecution of those Trusts I have committed to you, and not to be startled with any Reports you may hear, as if I were otherwise inclined to the *Presbyterians* than when I left you. I assure you I am upon the same Principles I was, and depend as much as ever upon your Undertakings and Endeavours for my Service, being
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fully resolved to assist and support you therein to the uttermost of my Power, as you shall find in Effect, when you shall desire any thing to be done by.

Your Affectionate Friend,

St. Germans the 19th
of September 1649.

Charles R.

*An Address from the Committee of
Estates of Scotland to the King,
with the Kings Answer, Copies of
both which were sent by the King
in a Letter to Montrose, which
is here subjoined.*

May it please your Majesty,

IF the Estates of Parliament of this your Majesty's most ancient Kingdom, had considered the Power and Prevalency of your Majesty's Enemies, your Majesty's present Condition, and the Difficulties and Dangers that may attend an Agreement with your Majesty in such a Posture of Affairs, they might have been silent, upon the Receipt of so unsatisfactory an Answer to their humble and earnest Desires, and waited for the Express promised by your Majesty in your last Answer to their Commissioners. But being very desirous to witness their tender Regard to your Majesty, and because they would not be wanting in any
Thing

Thing which might evidence the Sincerity and Constancy of their Affection, and beget a right Understanding betwixt your Majesty and your loyal and faithful Subjects of this Kingdom, they have resolved upon this new Address; there being no earthly Thing more in their Desires, than that your Majesty may rule over them, and that your Throne may be established in Religion and Righteousness.

We doubt not but your Majesty hath seriously considered your present Estate, and weighed the great Dangers that do and may further arise from Delay in Resolution; yet we crave Leave humbly to represent, that it is Matter of much Trouble and Sadness for us, to think that your Majesty should live among Strangers, and (relying upon the uncertain Aid of Foreigners) stand at such a Distance with your well affected Subjects, who, against all Difficulties and Impediments, are most willing to interest themselves in your Majesty's Affairs according to the Covenant. And we cannot but acquaint your Majesty, that it is unto us Matter of Admiration, that your Majesty should at this Time forbear to declare your Intentions and Resolutions, whil'st your Adversaries (the Murderers of your Royal Father, and our native King) are very active and industrious, both at Home and Abroad, and leave no Means untried which may either gain Reputation to themselves, or lessen your Majesty's Estimation with your People.

As we are much grieved to consider the many Inconveniencies which accompany your Majesty's Irresolution, so are we much more afflicted to think

of the sad Effects that may ensue, in Case your Majesty should be induced to believe, that it can be safe for your Majesty to trust your Person, or Affairs to the Papists in *Ireland*, who for their Enmity to the Reformed Religion, and cruel Murder of many Thousand Protestants in that Kingdom, are long since become detestable to all your Majesty's Subjects, who either fear GOD, honour your Majesty, or wish well to the Peace of these Kingdoms.

We do therefore most humbly beg and earnestly beseech, that your Majesty would in your Princely Wisdom, seasonably lay to Heart your own Estate, the long continued Distraction of your Kingdoms, and the Equity of our humble Desires presented unto your Majesty by our Commissioners. Which if your Majesty shall graciously be pleased to grant (and above all if your Majesty shall cordially enter into the *Solemn League and Covenant*) is the only Way to procure the LORD's Blessing on all your Undertakings, and the hearty Concurrence of your well affected Subjects in all your Kingdoms, for Restoring your Majesty to your just Power and Authority. And for our Parts, we dare confidently say, in His Sight who is the Searcher of Hearts, that your Majesty may thereupon assuredly expect from this Kingdom, all the Testimonies of Affection and Fidelity, according to our Covenant, that dutiful and loyal Subjects are capable of, for restoring your Majesty to the Possession of the Government of your Kingdoms.

If in Order to these Ends, your Majesty shall be pleased to acknowledge the present Parliament of
this

this Kingdom, particularly the Two last Sessions thereof, in this Year 1649, and the Committee having Authority from them in the Interval of Parliament, we are resolved to make a solemn Address unto your Majesty, for a full Agreement upon the Grounds contained in the former Desires of,

Your Majesty's most humble,
most loyal, and most obe-
dient Subjects.

London Cancellarius.

LETTER XIV.

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blessed Memory, believing that your Intentions
 are as full of Loyalty and Candor to us, as we
 are, and always have been real in our Desires to
 beget such a clear and right Understanding between
 us, and all our Subjects of that our ancient King-
 dom of *Scotland*, as might be a sure Foundation
 of their future Peace and Happiness, and an ef-
 fectual Means to root up those Seeds of Division
 and Animosity, which have been occasioned by
 the late Troubles : And so to unite the Hearts
 and Affections of our Subjects to one another,
 and to us their lawful King and Sovereign, that
 by their due Obedience and Submission to our just
 Authority, we may be enabled to maintain them
 in Peace and Prosperity, and to protect them in
 their Religion and Liberties, as to our Kingly Of-
 fice belongeth. And as we have ever resolved to
 contribute all that depends on us to these good
 Ends, and to the just Satisfaction of all our Sub-
 jects of that our Kingdom ; So we have now
 thought fit by the Return of Mr. *Wynram*, to de-
 sire, that Commissioners be sent to us sufficiently
 authorized to treat and agree with us upon all
 Particulars, as well in Relation to the Concern-
 ments and just Satisfaction of our Subjects there,
 as to those Helps and Assistances we may reason-
 ably expect from them, for the bringing of the
 Murderers of our late dear Father of blessed Me-
 mory to condign Punishment ; and for the Recove-
 ry of our just Rights in all our Kingdoms : And
 that they attend us by the 15th of *March* next
 at *Breda*, where we intend (GOD willing) to be.

In Order whereunto, and in Confidence of such a Treaty; as also to evidence to you, and to the whole World, that we sincerely desire to agree with you, and expecting that no other Use shall be made of it to the Prejudice of us, or our Affairs, than what we intend in Order to the Treaty, notwithstanding many important Considerations that might have dissuaded us from doing any Thing antecedently at this Time, we have resolved to direct this Letter unto you by the Name of the Committee of Estates of that our Kingdom, hoping, that from the Confidence we express in your clear and candid Intentions towards us, you will derive effectual Arguments to your selves of mutual Confidence in us, which by the Blessing of Almighty GOD, by your just and prudent Moderation, by the earnest Desire we have to oblige all our Subjects of that Kingdom, and by the Means of the Treaty which we expect and desire, may be the Foundation of a full and happy Agreement between us, and of the future Peace and Security of that Nation; which we assure you, we passionately desire, and shall effectually endeavour: And so we bid you very heartily farewell.

Given at our Court, in *Jersey*,
the 22-12th Day of *January*
1649-50. In the first Year
of our Reign.

LETTER

L E T T E R XV.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin,
 we greet you well. An Address having been
 lately made to us from *Scotland* by a Letter,
 (whereof we send you the Copy herewith) where-
 in they desire that We should acknowledge their
 Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions
 of it, and thereupon offer to send a solemn Address
 to Us for a full Agreement: We have in Answer
 thereunto, returned our Letters to them (a Copy
 whereof we likewise send you here inclosed) by
 which we have appointed a speedy Time, and
 Place for their Commissioners to attend us: And to
 the End you may not apprehend, that we intend
 either by any Thing contained in those Letters, or
 by the Treaty we expect, to give the least Impe-
 diment to your Proceedings, we think fit to let
 you know, that as we conceive that your Prepara-
 tions have been one effectual Motive, that has in-
 duced them to make the said Address to us; so your
 vigorous Proceeding will be a good Means to
 bring them to such Moderation in the said Treaty,
 as probably may produce an Agreement, and a
 present Union of that whole Nation in our service:
 We assure you therefore, that We will not, before,
 or during the Treaty, do any Thing contrary to that
 Power and Authority which we have given you
 by our Commission, nor consent to any Thing that
 may bring the least Degree of Diminution to it:
 And if the said Treaty should produce an Agree-
 ment

ment, We will with our uttermost Care so provide for the Honour and Interest of your self and of all that shall engage with you, as shall let the whole World see the high Esteem we have of you, and our full Confidence in that eminent Courage, Conduct and Loyalty which you have always expressed to the King our late dear Father of Blessed Memory, and to Us, both by your Actions and Sufferings for our Cause. In the mean Time, we think fit to declare to you, that We have called them a Committee of Estates, only in Order to a Treaty, and for no other End whatever: And if the Treaty do not produce an Agreement; as We are already assured, that the calling of them a Committee of Estates in the Direction of a Letter, doth neither acknowledge them to be legally so, nor make them such; so We shall immediately declare to all our Subjects of *Scotland*, what we hold them to be, notwithstanding any Appellation we now give them, thereby to satisfy them and the whole World, we desire to reduce our Subjects of that Kingdom to their due Obedience to us, by our just and honourable Condescensions, and by all Endeavours of Kindness and Favour on our Part, rather than by War and Hostility, if their unreasonable Demands do not necessitate Us to that as to the only Way and Remedy left us. We require and authorize you to proceed vigorously and effectually in your Undertaking, and to act in all Things in Order to it, as you shall judge most necessary for the Support thereof, and for our Service in that Way, Wherein we doubt not, but all our loyal and well affected Subjects of *Scotland* will cordially and effectually

effectually join with you, and by that Addition of Strength, either dispose those that are otherwise minded to make reasonable Demands to us in the Treaty, or be able to force them to it by Arms, in Case of their obstinate Refusal. To which End, We authorize you to communicate and publish this our Letter to all such Persons as you shall think fit.

The Address and Answer to it, with the King's Letter to Montrose will be the better understood, if the 170 and following Pages of the History are consulted : For the Presbyterians having presented a very undutiful Address to the King, and propos'd to him very unreasonable Demands. The King refus'd to treat with them ; and this Refusal occasioned this new Address. The King's Letter to Montrose is the plainest Vindication imaginable of Montrose's Return to Scotland, and of his endeavouring, during the Dependence of the Treaty, to bring the Rebels to Reason.

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